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ABSTRACT

Three papers in this book place the current movement of accountability and State assessment in perspective and point to the emergence of a different set of "arrangements" for education than those normally accepted by Americans and a different way of framing goals for education. In the first paper, Miriam Clasby draws attention to the intended and latent consequences of a period of heavy "Federal initiative" in education. Among the latent consequences of this initiative is the emergence of strong, well staffed interstate organizations and national lay associations with local school district constituencies that could organize opinion and support policies in ways that would permit direct and effective Congressional lobbying. In the second paper, Dr. Maureen Webster draws attention to the growth of legislation mandating Statewide assessment of schools and school systems. She gives reason to argue plausibly that such legislation may, in fact, unnecessarily shape the goals of schooling itself and determine the shape that the policy-planning process will have to take. In the third paper, Naomi White sets down one approach to the problem of determining the minimal skills to which the system of schooling should attend. In her discussion, Mrs. White raises the issue of the influence of accountability in defining the goals of education, as opposed to simply evaluating success or failure in attaining those goals. (Author/JF)

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CHANGING CONTEXTS FOR EDUCATIONAL DECISION-MAKING

MIRIAM CLASBY
MAUREEN WEBSTER
NAOMI WHITE

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
THOMAS F. GREEN

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CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF TABLES iv

INTRODUCTION 1
Thomas F. Green

CHAPTER ONE -- ACTION AND ACTORS ON THE NATIONAL SCENE 15
Miriam Clasby

Part One
INTRODUCTION 17

Part Two
FEDERAL ADMINISTRATIVE REQUIREMENTS AND SEA ACTIVITY 20

Scope of Activity 20
Patterns of Participation 27
Recapitulation 37

Part Three
FEDERAL ACTIVITY AND NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COALITIONS 39

Council of Chief State School Officers 40
Education Commission of the States 44
National School Boards Association 46

Part Four
SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR FEDERAL POLICY-MAKERS 50

FOOTNOTES 57

Page

CHAPTER TWO – – THE QUEST FOR BETTER SCHOOLS 61
Statewide Testing Legislation and Educational Policy
Maureen MacDonald Webster

Part One
LEGISLATION, ACCOUNTABILITY, AND STATEWIDE TESTING 63

Objectives, Limitations and Outline of the Ensuing Discussion 68
Policy Relevance 72

Part Two
PATTERNS IN STATEWIDE TESTING/ASSESSMENT LEGISLATION 73
An Analysis

Purposes and Intentions 73
Administration and Participation 79
Uses of Evaluation Information 97
Recapitulation 102

Part Three
BEYOND THE LEGISLATION: FROM EVALUATION TO DECISION–MAKING 105
An Examination of Some Problems

Data Management and SEA Capabilities 105
Evaluation and Decisions: Some Fears and Pitfalls 107
Evaluation and Decisions:
The Adequacy of the Information about the "Adequacy of Education" 119

Part Four
BEYOND THE LEGISLATION: THE POLICY–PLANNING PROCESS 132
An Exploration

Evaluation, Resource Allocation, and Goals 133
Dimensions of the Planning Process:
The Span of Action and the Range of Actors 137
Changing Conceptions of Planning Functions and Roles:
An International Perspective 146
Legislation and Policy-Planning 148

FOOTNOTES 150

Page

CHAPTER THREE – – WHAT ARE SCHOOLS FOR? 155
The Issue of Minimal Skills
Naomi Rosh White

Part One
INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW 157

Two Meanings of "Minimal Skills" 158

Part Two
MINIMAL SKILLS IN THE CONTEXT OF EDUCATIONAL THEORY: 161
Some Alternatives

Gagne 161
Piaget 162
Montessori 163

Part Three
TESTING AND ACCOUNTABILITY: SOME PROBLEMS AND ISSUES 165

The "Critical Age" Problem 165
The Instrument Problem 170

Part Four
"MINIMAL SKILLS" FROM A SOCIAL PERSPECTIVE 177

The Society for Which the "Minimal Skills" Are Intended 178
"Minimal Skills" Necessary for Functioning in Society 181
The Schools and "Minimal Skills for Personal Efficacy" 184
The Assessment Issue 188
The Technicist Ethos 192

Part Five
CONCLUSION 194

FOOTNOTES 197

APPENDICES 199

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER ONE: ACTION AND ACTORS ON THE NATIONAL SCENE

1.1 The Role of Federal Funding in the Expansion of State Testing Programs 201

1.2 Total Funds for Comprehensive Planning and Evaluation by Source, First Grant Period: Fiscal Year 1970 26

1.3 Section 505: Interstate Projects, 1966–1972 35

1.4 Patterns of Relationships in 41 Interstate Projects 35

1.5 Interstate Projects, 1966–1972 36

CHAPTER TWO: THE QUEST FOR BETTER SCHOOLS
Statewide Testing Legislation and Educational Policy

2.1 State Legislation for Accountability in Education Through Fall 1972 64

2.2 Accountability in Education: Legislation Studied 204

2.3 Status of Accountability Legislation, Fall 1972 206

2.4 Patterns of Legislation for Accountability in Education Through Fall 1972 66

2.5 Questions Posed in Analyzing Statewide Testing/Assessment Legislation and Related Documentation 69

2.6 Patterns in Statewide Testing/Assessment Legislation: Purposes and Intentions 75

2.7 Patterns in Statewide Testing/Assessment Legislation: Specification of Minimum Requirements 78

2.8 Patterns in Statewide Testing/Assessment Legislation: Administration and Participation 80

2.9 Target Areas of Evaluation in Statewide Testing/Assessment Programs. Thirteen States, Circa 1971–1973 86

2.10 Information "Related" to Student Achievement Collected Under State Testing/Assessment Programs 88

2.11 Patterns in Statewide Testing/Assessment Legislation Reporting Provisions 94

2.12 Trends in Accountability Requirements Incorporating Mounting Pressures for Evaluation Data 96

2.13 Patterns in Statewide Testing/Assessment Legislation Specified Uses of Evaluation Information in Decision-making 98

2.14 Patterns of Educational Planning and Evaluation With Varying Span of Action And Range of Actors 142

CHAPTER THREE: WHAT ARE SCHOOLS FOR?
The Issue of Minimal Skills

3.1 Legislation for Educational Management Methods 209

INTRODUCTION

by

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The distant view of things often improves our vision. It helps us to see things whole and to see the parts in their relations. That is why history can be a great informer. It gives perspective. The distance of time helps us to distinguish the main events from the distractions, to hear the message through the static. That is also why there is both a challenge and a hazard wherever we attempt to comment on the meaning of issues in our own time. For then we lack the distant view that the passing of time affords. It is hard to point a finger at the main event while it is still going on.

Right now the idea of accountability is on the rise in American education. Is it the main event or is it only a side show? Is it the message or is it only noise? From one point of view, that is the question that these papers in combination help to answer. They give us perspective. They help to bring the parts into some whole. The emerging picture is, to this reader anyway, astonishing, startling, provocative and immensely helpful.

I do not mean that the conclusions in these papers are beyond dispute or that the arguments are unassailable. I mean rather that they invite inquiry and provoke thought. The reader, nearly any thoughtful reader, is likely to find himself sometimes in agreement and sometimes in intense and thorough disagreement. But there is documentation in these papers. The evidence accumulates and builds. And so the reader, if he disagrees, will find himself engaged in

active search of counter evidence and the task of formulating better and clearer arguments.

But what is even more important is the fact that the reader will find himself agreeing, disagreeing and seeking clarity on matters of the utmost seriousness. For these papers do more than place the current movement of accountability and state assessment in perspective. They point as well as to the emergence of a different set of "arrangements" for education than Americans are used to and a different way of framing goals for education. Instead of concentrating on a proposed solution to a current set of problems they begin to reveal the problems implicit in a proposed solution. That requires a rare kind of perspective that not even history can provide. It looks at the American educational scene not over the distance from the present to the past but from the present to the future.

In the first of these papers, Miriam Clasby draws our attention to the intended and latent consequences of a period of heavy "federal initiative" or "federal partnership" in education. She points out that the various titles of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 placed a heavy responsibility on State Departments of Education to collect and assemble educational information on a wide range of topics. That same legislation also provided resources for strengthening the planning capabilities of State Departments. These matters are well known. But she also reports on what is not so well known, namely the emergence of increasing interstate cooperation of educational authorities and the rapid development of interstate coalitions and associations with constituencies at the level of local school districts. Specifically, she draws our attention to the activities of the Council of Chief State School Officers, the Education Commission of the States, the National School Boards Association, and finally, the emergence of planning bodies at the federal level with direct participation of such interstate agencies.

Her documentation sketches in the outlines of a different kind of political structure for the formation of national educational

policy. Despite the existence of educational systems in fifty different states, there is nonetheless, a national system of education in the United States, a system in which there is scarcely more than ten days difference in the legal length of the school year and in which practice, curriculum, and pedagogy are remarkably uniform. Not so long ago it might have been argued that this "national system" of education could be described, at least proximately, as consisting of a line of authority extending from the federal government to the states, and from the states to local educational authorities. But Dr. Clasby suggests, by only the most thinly veiled implication, that there is emerging a new system. And, in that new structure there is, as it were, a third force in national policy intervening between state governments and federal agencies concerned with education. And if she is correct in this suggestion and if the trend continues, then the politics of education at the federal level will be substantially altered. It is as though our political system for education behaves so that any strong and sustained federal "initiative" can be expected to produce certain countervailing influences, perhaps strong lobbies and agencies having broader constituencies than any single State Department of Education and yet, not answerable directly to any state or federal educational bureaucracy.

Such a development, if carried very far, would modify the political relations between the legislative and executive branches of the federal government with respect to issues of educational policy. Strong, well-staffed interstate organizations and national lay associations with local school district constituencies might organize opinion and support policies in ways that would permit direct and effective Congressional lobbying. It would be hazardous for any national administration to ignore such a force in the political process of forming national educational policy. What emerges from this picture is a kind of coalitional politics in federal-state relations that we have not known before. If Dr. Clasby is right, then clearly the politics of educational policy in the future will have less to do with the development of appropriate and effective federal "initiatives" and more to do with developing appropriate

relations between the federal government and an array of interstate bodies.

But these papers go far beyond the exploration of this suggestive turn. In a second paper, Dr. Maureen Webster draws our attention to a particular aspect of the problem of "accountability," namely, the growth of legislation mandating statewide assessment of schools and school systems. Here again, the documentation builds and eventually explodes into a picture of problems stemming from such legislation. She begins by giving us a sense of the growth of state accountability legislation. But she then goes on to analyze the legislation for statewide testing to show the array of legislated purposes and intent, the pattern of administration and participation and the different requirements for the collection and management of evaluation information as well as proposed uses of that information. In case after case, she shows that the intent of the legislation is to provide a more rational basis for the allocation of educational resources in ways that are essentially more efficient. But in a separate section, Dr. Webster raises serious doubts that the kinds of data mandated in the legislation can ever be adequate to satisfy the intended purposes of the legislation. She suggests that the legislation, depending on how it is implemented, contains several doubtful assumptions about the relative importance of what is tested, about the determinates of learning and about the social place of education in American society. She gives reason to plausibly argue that such legislation may, in fact, unnecessarily shape the goals of schooling itself and determine the shape that the policy-planning process will have to take. In short, in this body of "accountability legislation" we may be about to give statutory definition to educational goals and to do so in ways that are limited to quantifiable outcomes that can yield data useful for legislative and administrative determination of efficient allocational policies.

These are not claims that anyone can afford to react to with indifference. They raise vital and enormously fundamental questions about the very nature of education itself. In some instances,

State Boards of Education have the constitutional responsibility of seeing to it that "effective," "efficient," and "adequate" educational systems are provided for their citizens. What do these words mean? What really constitutes the moral and social grounds for the state's interest in the control of education? And if that interest extends only as far as to insure some minimal level of achievement, then what really are the minimal skills? And do we have any reason to believe that these minimal skills are included in the skills that state assessment legislation is intended to monitor?

And so there is a third paper to this set. Naomi White has done a provocative job of setting down one approach to the question as to what could be the minimal skills to which the system of schooling should attend. Of course, in raising the question as to how we understand the minimal skills of schooling, Mrs. White is raising again the question as to how the movement of "accountability" is, willy-nilly, involved in defining the goals of education, and not simply in evaluating our success or failure in attaining those goals.

Indeed, from my own point of viewing, that is that these papers are about. They are concerned with setting forth some of the subtler aspects of how goals for the American educational system are being shaped and how they are being shaped under the guise of doing something else. The three discussions which constitute this report reflect a threefold emphasis guiding the work. Because the research has been carried out under contract to the U.S. Office of Education, the first chapter views decision-making structures from a national perspective and suggests some implications for a federal agency. In several ways, these suggestions are bold ones, pointing to and laying the groundwork for a thorough reexamination of the role of the Office of Education and of federal policy in American education. But the federal role is constrained by the fact that constitutional authority and responsibility for education is reserved to the states. The focus on developments in state agencies, therefore, explores the meanings of current changes at a crucial leverage point in educational

decision-making. The final chapter addresses problems of the substance of education. This emphasis reflects a value position shared by members of the project team which is also a fear--that current emphasis on equalization through finance reform and on efficiency in operation may deflect attention from the fundamental issue of what our children are learning. Were the suggestion not so trite, these papers, taken together, might be entitled Framing Educational Goals by Stealth: A Straightforward View of Accountability. The first paper documents the changing face of the federal and state apparatus by which goals will be hammered out. The second recounts the growth of the state assessment movement and its implications for goals, and the third paper is concerned in a more speculative way with what the first two might mean. Altogether it makes sense, and it makes serious sense.

But in order to confront these papers vigorously, the reader, in my judgment, needs to examine them from a perspective that presents a counterargument. The details of that perspective are not clear to me. But it does seem that it could incorporate some of the following observations.

In the first place, one should recognize that the accountability movement in general and the drive for state assessment in particular, is by no means altogether new. It can be understood as the outgrowth of the "testing movement" in American education going all the way back to World War I. At that time, the development of testing instrumentation converged with two other movements--the refinement of techniques for business efficiency and the introduction of vocational education--to shape the character of elementary and secondary education for the rest of the century. In this context, as historian Marvin Lazerson has observed, testing became fundamental to American education, a means of categorizing children, differentiating curriculum, and assuring efficiency in schools so that products were suitable to the industrial society.

But there are new developments in these movements—the elaboration of management "systems" techniques, sophistication in testing procedures, renewed emphasis on preparation for work—that suggest a continuation of the tradition of the "cult of efficiency" in American education. All of these forces, long rooted in the American educational experience now join together, and give new life and power to the factory metaphor of schools, the industrial interpretation of planning, and somewhat more indirectly, to the process of social stratification.

I don't suppose that anyone really believes that this combination of metaphors can ever deal with all that we expect of education. In many respects, schools are not factories and education is not an industry. To overlook that fact would be to overlook the obvious. Still, it is true that what can be on the agenda for decision at the level of the local school, may not appear at all on the agenda for decision at the state or federal level. And though it might seem silly to view the local school as though it were a factory, it is less silly to view a statewide system of schools as an industry. The efficient allocation of resources just <u>is</u> a relatively larger part of the state and federal agenda for educational policy than it is at the local level. The industrial metaphor <u>is</u> a relatively more plausible view to take at levels of high aggregation in the system.

This leads me then to my second point. There can be no doubt that the data collected from state assessment will be inadequate in many cases to serve the statutory purposes for which it is collected. On that point, it seems to me that Dr. Webster is absolutely correct. To suppose otherwise, it seems to me, would constitute either outright conceptual confusion or just plain ignorance of how the American educational system works. But the relevant question may not be whether such data will be adequate, but whether the grounds for decision at the level of the State will be <u>less</u> <u>in</u>adequate with such information than it would be without it. The question is not

posed in quite that way in these papers. The answer might be that state assessment, though admittedly inadequate as a basis for framing allocational policies, is nonetheless an improvement. On the other hand, the answer might be that, because of its latent consequences, it might not be an improvement. These papers do not directly address the question in that form. Nonetheless, they contain enough documentation to strengthen the view that state assessment legislation may well not constitute an improvement in the long run even though it may constitute a modest gain in the rational basis for decisions.

How does the demand for accountability and the emergence of statewide testing influence the formation of educational goals? That is a central theme in these papers. But it is not a theme pursued within the context of any general view of the "social logic" of educational goals. How exactly do educational goals influence educational practice and under what conditions do they influence educational policy? These are not questions that receive any detailed treatment in the documentation. They are not supposed to. Still, some general view of the "logic" of educational goals would be helpful in evaluating the claims made in these papers and in entering into some fruitful dialectic with these claims. There are three points that I want to make as a step toward such a general view. None of them can be fully developed, and I do not claim that even together they constitute all that would have to be included in such a view.

In the first place, it is worth noting that general educational goals--as opposed to specific targets--are never formulated so that it is possible to tell when the goal has been attained or how far short we are of attainment. For example, one thing that virtually all educational systems must accomplish is the production of good citizens. But we cannot, in principle, ever know, at least in any short-run period, whether that goal has been achieved. Or again, American schoolmen used to be fond of claiming that it is their goal to educate each individual to the fullest of his potential.

But no matter how spectacular is the achievement of students, we can never know when they are achieving at their fullest potential.

Since it is never possible for us to know when we have reached such general goals for education, many persons have regarded such general goal statements as insufficiently specific. Because they do not permit us to determine how far we are from their attainment, therefore, they are inadequate formulations of goals for education. I have always found that to be a rather compelling point. It leads to the insistence that such general goals for education be translated into rather specific targets that can be monitored and can be known to have been achieved or not. The impulse to make that intellectual move is basic to the emergence of the accountability movement and to the development of state assessment legislation.

However compelling that conceptual move may seem, I want now to suggest that it rests, nonetheless, on a conceptual mistake. It is derived from a misunderstanding of the nature of educational goals. What is peculiar about educational goals is that it is not their function to provide targets for attainment. Their function rather is to formulate consensus about what we will count as failure--serious failure. Consider an illustration. We cannot know when we have educated people to the limits of their capacities. There is nothing that we know of that would count as evidence that we had attained such a goal. Therefore, we are inclined to think that such a statement is vacuous. We do not know what it requires of us. It has no specific policy implications. We may not be able to tell when we have achieved the goal of educating everyone to his fullest capacities. Still, there are circumstances in which virtually everyone will agree that we have <u>failed</u> to do so.

The point may seem to be only a quibble. But it is not. It may seem that if we can agree on when we have failed to attain a certain educational goal, then we should be able to agree on when we have succeeded. But that doesn't follow at all, or rather it

follows only if we adopt a particular, and I think erroneous, view of the "logic" of educational goals. The fact is that there is a huge and real difference between the concern that things go very well indeed and the concern that they simply not go very badly. I am suggesting that the point at which educational goals really come into play is not when we have fallen short of the best, but when we have fallen short of what is the least that is tolerable. Under these conditions, the general goal that we should educate each person to his fullest capacities is no longer vacuous. On the contrary, it means rather specific things and it has direct and pointed implications for policy and for the allocation of resources. It means that the curriculum should not be too narrow, that facilities should not be too impoverished and that standards should not be too low. The specific meaning of phrases like "too narrow," "too impoverished," and "too low" will, of course, be defined differently in different settings. But it will not be defined as something merely short of what is good, but as something short of what is acceptable. Whenever such a goal is invoked in a community, it will be because rather specific things are regarded not as less than the best, but as less than what is tolerable. People will be saying either that the curriculum is too narrow (add a French class) or that the facilities are too inadequate (add a homeroom) or that the children are not being pressed to do what they are capable of (don't underestimate our kids!). The general goal then gets translated into specific targets naturally, quickly, and with clarity; and that translation is precisely what is requested in the demand for "accountability." My point is that the first step in understanding the "social logic" of educational goals is to recognize that it is not their function to tell us what in any detail we are to count as the best state of affairs. It is their function rather to tell us what we are to count as <u>relevant</u> in determining when things are intolerably bad. And this they do tolerably well.

If these observations are anywhere near being "on target," then there are certain things that flow immediately to provide still another perspective on the papers in this report, still another kind of distance. In the first place, if I am anywhere near right in this view of educational goals, it follows that goals in education are a different sort of thing from goals in industry. And that is a rather specific respect in which the factory and industrial metaphors do not apply to education. In business, in engineering, and perhaps even in government, the declension for the word "goal" would be "good," "better," and "best"; but in education it might well be "not good," "worse," and "absolutely intolerable." There is an irony to this. For the conception of educational goals that is adopted in these papers is not the one that I have advanced. On the contrary, the conception of the "logic" of educational goals found in these papers is the conception appropriate to industry. The authors are quite consistent in holding to that view, and for good reason. That is, distressingly enough, the view embodied in the purposes and intent of the legislation.

I believe that Dr. Webster is correct in suggesting that the data gathered under statewide testing legislation will be inadequate, on the whole, to serve the purposes and intent embodied in the statutes. But one must confess that no amount of information is likely to be sufficient for that. Still, she has something rather more serious in mind. If statewide testing legislation results in attempts to define educational goals along lines of "good, better, and best," then that will indeed be something new. But I suspect that it will not work. Sooner or later, in the process of implementation and with the hindsight provided by some experience, we shall have to face up to the peculiarities in the logic of educational goals. The data will be used not to identify what is better and best, but what is bad, worse, and intolerable. It will be used to give us quicker and more satisfactory notice of where we are failing, and failing badly. That is a gain, but it is not quite what the proponents of "accountability" think they are promoting.

Secondly, I have argued that there is an important and real difference between the concern that things go very well indeed, and the concern that they simply not go very badly. The difference can be construed as the difference between the educational goals that a concerned parent has for his children and the goals that the state has for its citizens. Parents typically will seek what they think is desirable for their children even when they do not believe it is necessary. But the state will typically seek what is desirable in education only if it can also be shown to be either politically or logically necessary. Parents will seek to assure their children of the best they can. The state will seek to guarantee only what is minimal. That is precisely why the third of these papers is absolutely crucial. There is indeed a question as to whether the skills to be assessed under statewide testing legislation are indeed the skills appropriate to the state's legitimate interests in education. Mrs. White shows us that schools and school systems might be held accountable for minimal skills that are not typically mandated by existing legislation, and in doing so, she also raises hard questions about how we are to understand the definition of minimal skills and how we are to understand the limits of the state's legitimate interests.

As a possible counterpoint, I would like to suggest briefly yet another way in which this problem might be approached. Nothing can be a goal in any precinct of human affairs if it is already attained. That may seem obvious, but the obvious is often worth noting. In this case, the obvious helps us to understand why it is that in the "social logic" of educational goals--as opposed to the "parental logic"--something can become a goal when its absence becomes transparently clear. It also helps us to see why it is that educational goals typically deal not with the specification of what is best or even good, but with what we are to count as relevant in the judgment that things have gotten intolerably bad. Now, of course, what is regarded as intolerable may change. If we have a society in which everyone learns to read, then the fact that few enjoy it might be

regarded as intolerable. In that case the schools might be saddled with the responsibility of teaching reading so that it is enjoyed, and that might be regarded as among the minimal responsibilities of the schools. But if we have a society in which substantial numbers of people do not even learn to read in the literal sense of basic functional literacy, then I suspect that the fact that few enjoy reading will be regarded as tolerable and the minimal responsibilities of schools will not include such a goal. And if there are circumstances in which children in school have neither security of person nor property, then I suspect that even the teaching of basic literacy might give way to certain other goals. But at that point, the question might be raised as to whether the goals of securing safety of person and property are in fact educational goals.

The point I am driving at is that, given the perspective I have sketched on the "logic" of educational goals, we have also a way of defining the minimal skills that schools can legitimately be held accountable for. The class of minimal skills will be defined as that set of skills such that the failure of the schools to transmit them would constitute sufficient grounds for saying that the schools are intolerably bad. They would then become educational goals. Such a definition, of course, defines a highly flexible set of skills. What specific skills actually fall within that set will vary from community to community, from society to society, and from time to time. It will also have much to do with what people believe they can take for granted that the school will successfully accomplish.

In our own society, I suspect that the 3R's plus a certain kind of citizenship education fall within the set of minimal skills. They are also the skills that, on the whole, are included in areas to be assessed under statewide testing legislation. But it seems to me also that there is an interesting thing happening to the level of what is regarded as intolerable in America. There is increasing evidence that with respect to these basic areas of education, a growing part of the population assumes that the schools can be

successful. They tend to regard those areas of work as the functions of the schools and not the goals of education. The concern is growing that however well the schools may do in discharging these basic educational functions, nonetheless, the schools are intolerably bad if children are bored, unimaginative, and unfulfilled. In short, the quality of life in schools is likely to emerge as an educational goal, as something for which schools may be legitimately held accountable. And yet it is something that receives little attention in the state assessment legislation. To say that is to arrive at yet another central theme of these papers from yet another direction and to suggest the range of issues that the discussion invites each reader to confront.

Chapter One

ACTION AND ACTORS ON THE NATIONAL SCENE

by

Miriam Clasby

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

A New Federal Role

A number of influences have focused national attention on education. The rapid expansion of the school-age population in the 1950's and 1960's, coupled with soaring costs, created financial pressures touching every segment of the population.[1] This period, however, also marked a dramatic shift in the role of the federal government in elementary and secondary education--a shift that has not been given the careful study it deserves. Analyses that have been undertaken tend to focus on discrete components of federal action in separate titles of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) or isolated issues such as finance or politics.[2] One of the most ambitious tasks undertaken to date is the investigation of the impact of federal aid to education on the finances of elementary and secondary public schools conducted under the direction of Michael Kirst and Joel Berke.[3] This research traces the flow of major federal programs in five hundred seventy-five school districts in six states over a four-year period. The large picture of federal activity in education is, however, only beginning to emerge.

In a provocative study published in 1963, Roald F. Campbell and Robert A. Bunnell examined "nationalizing influences on secondary education" by focusing on the effects of four national programs on different types of high schools.[4] They concluded that four programs (National Science Foundation, College Entrance Examination Board, National Defense Education Act, and National Merit Scholarship) impacted in different ways on different kinds of schools, and that,

in general, such programs were having a decided influence on secondary education. The authors observed:

> The debate is now taking place relative to the possibility of large scale support by the federal government for total elementary and secondary public school programs. This represents another, though untried, type of national influence. If we can learn something from the types of influence already in existence, we may be in a better position to evaluate the proposed federal programs and thus to participate intelligently in the decision. (p. 10)

Campbell and Bunnell were attempting to anticipate the consequences of massive federal legislation (and it is unclear to what extent their efforts were formative in shaping the direction of that action). Given the fact that federal support for elementary and secondary education has been operative since 1965, the intent here is to outline some aspects of this hitherto "untried type of national influence."

The administration of ESEA has set in place a variety of new management procedures. Some are required by legislation; others are established in administrative guidelines. This discussion of the new federal role in education is sharply limited. It focuses only on new organizational and administrative activities insofar as they impact on state agencies. It examines ways in which this federal activity has contributed to the climate of educational decision-making, and identifies variations in state responses to this influence. The analysis does not address issues of the substance of federal programs or areas of priority. The purpose is, rather, to surface some of the indirect and unintended influences of federal activity on state operations, to point to relationships rather than to causation, and to suggest dimensions of federal activity which have served as a precondition to current state activity.

Part Two examines administrative requirements for the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and related State Education Agency (SEA) activity. Under the rubric "Scope of Activity," special attention will focus on data-gathering and planning activities required by federal legislation and subsequent changes in the structure and

functions of SEA's. A discussion of "Modes of Participation" will describe legislative and administrative requirements for advisory groups and related activity at the state level, including both intra-state and interstate patterns of participation.

Part Three is an exploratory piece charting the changing functions of three national groups, the Council of Chief State School Officers, the Education Commission of the States, and the National School Boards Association. These changes are examined in the light of federal activity which has both precipitated opposition and supported activities in these groups which have the capability of impacting on education at the federal, state, and local levels.

Part Four draws on the previous discussions to suggest three needs which are implied for federal policy-makers:

a) to identify changes in state agencies which are concurrent with shifts in funding patterns and to anticipate the consequences of these changes for future federal policy;

b) to identify the rationale for current relationships with national interest groups and to explore alternative policies;

c) to review and synthesize federal experience with strategies for change in elementary and secondary education and to translate this into policy options for federal action and into policy analysis for state use.

PART TWO

FEDERAL ADMINISTRATIVE REQUIREMENTS AND SEA ACTIVITY

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (P.L. 89-10) represents the major federal thrust in elementary and secondary education during the past decade. Therefore, it serves as a touchstone for identifying major features of federal activity. The magnitude of the funding levels and the range of administrative responsibilities have impacted on the roles of SEA's in ways that have not yet been adequately examined.[5] The complexity of the individual ESEA titles has resulted in multiple patterns of administration--state control, state sign-off, state by-pass--that severely complicate the problem of analyzing influences on administrative patterns at the state level. Some indicators, however, do suggest broad influences on state operations related to a) the scope of administrative activities, and b) patterns of participation within states and between states.

Scope of Activity

Recent efforts to improve educational decision-making have emphasized the need for an adequate information base, procedures for planning and evaluation, and processes for long-range comprehensive planning. Each of these needs will be examined in relation to the impact of ESEA requirements on state activity.

A. Federal Requirements: Data-gathering and Planning

Data-gathering. The federal education agency was originally established for the purpose of data collection and this has remained its most permanent function for more than a century. The

passage of ESEA, however, imposed significant additional data-gathering responsibilities on the Office of Education and these, in turn, generated new demands on state agencies. (After several years of effort, the official reporting forms which states must use each year have been reduced to a package weighing approximately ten pounds!)

Each title of ESEA requires its own information base and reporting pattern, imposing on the states a monumental task of data coordination. In addition, because Title I was targeted to meet the educational needs of low-income families, the legislation specifies precise criteria for the allocation of funds to local education agencies. Three major groups in the 5-17 age category are identified: children of families having an annual income less than the low-income factor, those in families receiving aid under Title IV of the Social Security Act, and those in institutions for neglected or delinquent children or being supported in foster homes with public funds (Section 103). Other provisions specify Indian children, those residing in the school district of another agency, the handicapped, and children of migratory agricultural workers. The legislation requires that calculations be made on the basis of most recent satisfactory data available from the Department of Commerce, with special estimates of the number of children in each group.

More recent federal efforts to insure comparability of services in Title I districts require still finer level of detail. State educational agencies have been instructed to require each local agency to provide data on each school served by Title I and all other schools showing: 1) the average daily membership; 2) the average number of assigned certified classroom teachers; 3) the average number of assigned certified instructional staff other than teachers; 4) the average number of assigned noncertified staff; 5) the amount expended for instructional salaries; 6) the amount of such expenses for longevity pay; and 7) the amount expended for other instructional costs, such as the costs of textbooks, library resources, and other instructional materials. In addition, data must be submitted giving

the per-pupil averages for each of these items based on average daily memberships.[6]

The original Title I legislation also requires that annual reports to the state education agency include evidence that "effective procedures, including provision for appropriate objective measures of educational achievement, will be adopted for evaluating at least annually the effectiveness of the programs in meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children." (Section 105)

States, therefore, have been responsible for approving applications requiring massive information gathering and reporting procedures focused on detailed demographic data and including evidence of outcomes in terms of student performance.

Planning and Evaluation. Conceptual clarity may exist among experts on the roles and techniques of planning and evaluation, but there is a muddiness at the operational level that militates against broad generalizations. At the state level, for example, evaluation may or may not be related to a systematic planning process; statewide testing may thus function either as a simple performance measurement or as a component of a needs assessment feeding into a planning process. On the other hand, the planning operation itself may function as an independent unit directly concerned with a specific phase of operation such as resource allocation or educational program development. Alternatively, the planning may be comprehensively designed to integrate and coordinate all phases of operation.

ESEA has required and supported planning and evaluation activity at multiple levels. The Title I requirement for objective measures of achievement supports the notion of testing as a simple performance measure. Although the legislation allows other measures of effectiveness, only this one is specified. Title III, on the other hand, requires states to formulate state plans for administration

and to demonstrate that the proposed programs respond to state educational needs:

> Section 305 (b). The Commissioner shall approve a state plan, or modification thereof, if he determines that the plan submitted for that fiscal year--
>
> (1) sets forth a program (including educational needs, and their basis, and the manner in which the funds paid to the state under this title shall be used in meeting such educational needs) under which funds paid to the state under Section 307 (a) will be expended solely for the improvement of education in the state through grants to local educational agencies for programs or projects in accordance with Sections 303 and 304. [Emphasis added]

In this case, the legislation has supported both planning and related types of needs assessment.

The Amendments of 1967 (P.L. 90-247) introduce new authorization for Planning and Evaluation in Title IV:

> Section 402. There are authorized to be appropriated, for each fiscal year for which appropriations are otherwise authorized under any title or act referred to in Section 401, such sums as may be necessary to be available to the Secretary, in accordance with regulations prescribed by him, for expenses, including grants, contracts, or other payments, for (1) planning for the succeeding year programs or projects authorized under such Title or Act, and 2) evaluation of programs or projects so authorized. [Emphasis added]

In 1970, each state received $96,000 for planning and evaluation.

Comprehensive Planning. Title IV, Section 402 of the Amendments of 1967 which provides added incentive for comprehensive planning at the state level, highlights a dilemma inherent in the current federal role. Federal programs themselves are fragmented and unrelated, imposing enormous burdens of coordination on state and local levels. Furthermore, federal authority can only be attached to federal programs; the federal government cannot require comprehensive planning at the state level.[7]

The original 1965 legislation places a priority on comprehensive planning at the state level. In identifying the types of projects appropriate for funding under Title V, the ESEA legislation encourages comprehensive planning by pointing first to:

> educational planning on a statewide basis, including the identification of educational problems, issues, and needs in the state and the evaluation on a periodic or continuing basis of education programs in the state. (Section 503)

The choice and design of such projects is left to the states, subject to federal approval.[8]

Whatever administrative priorities may have been supported at the congressional or agency level, the distinctions in federal action in the three areas are clear: 1) firm and fixed requirements for information gathering and reporting including detailed demographic data and objective measures of Title I student performance; 2) general requirements for state plans in Title III; funding and opportunities for state planning and evaluation of federal programs through 1967 Title IV amendments; and 3) support and encouragement for comprehensive planning in Title V authorizations, but no enforceable requirements.

B. SEA Activity: Data-gathering and Planning

Changes in state agencies stimulated by ESEA legislation are evident in 1) personnel build-up, 2) new functions, and 3) new structures.

Because of discrepancies in reporting systems, the precise figures on personnel increase in state agencies are not firm. Official figures indicate an increase from 14,720 employees in state agencies in 1965 to 21,697 employees in 1970, although USOE staff report that state staffing doubled during this period.[9]

Changes in functions are suggested by reports made by states in a survey of State Educational Assessment Programs undertaken by

Educational Testing Service in 1971.[10] Table 1.1 (pp. 199-201) identifies twenty-five states which reported expanded statewide assessment programs then operational or projected.

The assessment programs described by the states range from simple student testing to comprehensive five-year projects. Twenty-five states reported testing or assessment programs which were significantly broader than the requirements of Title I or Title III. Almost all these programs (twenty-two) were initiated with federal funds. Programs in twelve states were funded solely with ESEA monies; programs in ten states used ESEA funds in combination with state and/or local funds. Six states specifically noted that these expanded programs originated from Title I or Title III requirements. Updated ETS information indicates that more than 75% of current state assessment programs rely totally or partially on federal funds.

These functional changes, moreover, are integrated with organizational changes. In a 1971 survey undertaken by the Missouri State Department of Education, thirty-four states reported on planning offices in state education agencies.[11] Twenty states (59%) indicated that planning units were established in 1970, the year in which Title IV, Section 402 funds became available for such purposes. A summary of SEA expenditures for comprehensive planning and evaluation (Table 1.2) suggests that states have attempted to focus and coordinate other state and federal funds beyond the $96,000 allocated under Title IV to each state. Figures indicate a median of $156,000 expended on state planning and evaluation activities.

Evidence is mounting that federal activities have introduced new personnel, supported new activities, and facilitated organizational change in state education agencies.

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TABLE 1.2

TOTAL FUNDS FOR COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING AND EVALUATION
(SECTION 402, PUBLIC LAW 90–247), BY SOURCE, FIRST GRANT PERIOD: FISCAL YEAR 1970*

State or Other Areas	Title IV sec. 402	Percent	Other Fed. funds	Percent	State funds	Percent	Total
Grand Total	$5,000,000	35.0	$6,845,285	47.8	$2,456,134	17.2	$14,301,419
Alabama	96,000	56.1	74,336	43.4	900	0.5	171,236
Alaska	96,000	46.2	112,000	53.8	.....	0.0	208,000
Arizona	96,000	100.0	.....	0.0	.....	0.0	96,000
Arkansas	96,000	57.1	51,260	30.5	20,840	12.4	168,100
California	96,000	82.8	21,000	17.2	.....	0.0	116,000
Colorado	96,000	32.2	125,038	41.9	77,454	25.9	298,492
Connecticut	96,000	74.3	33,214	25.7	.....	0.0	129,214
Delaware	96,000	42.8	112,000	49.9	16,250	7.3	224,250
District of Columbia	67,000	77.9	19,059	22.1	.....	0.0	86,059
Florida	96,000	36.3	154,605	58.5	13,700	5.2	264,305
Georgia	96,000	26.7	93,551	26.1	169,541	47.2	359,092
Hawaii	96,000	52.9	70,000	38.6	15,500	8.5	181,500
Idaho	96,000	73.6	25,683	19.7	8,667	6.7	130,350
Illinois	96,000	60.2	36,100	22.6	27,500	17.2	159,600
Indiana	96,000	70.1	25,000	18.2	16,000	11.7	137,000
Iowa	96,000	58.9	34,000	20.9	33,000	20.2	163,000
Kansas	96,000	61.5	60,000	38.5	.....	0.0	156,000
Kentucky	96,000	73.8	4,024	3.1	30,000	23.1	130,024
Louisiana	96,000	63.2	32,000	21.0	24,000	15.8	152,000
Maine	96,000	55.0	65,496	37.5	13,055	7.5	174,551
Maryland	96,000	38.6	110,000	44.2	42,936	17.2	248,936
Massachusetts	96,000	67.1	45,000	31.9	.....	0.0	141,000
Michigan	96,000	76.5	4,908	3.9	24,519	19.6	125,427
Minnesota	96,000	49.5	83,680	43.1	14,320	7.4	194,000
Mississippi	96,000	56.3	61,515	36.1	13,000	7.6	170,515
Missouri	96,000	91.4	6,000	5.7	3,000	2.9	105,000
Montana	96,000	67.5	46,265	32.5	.....	0.0	142,265
Nebraska	96,000	53.3	75,300	41.8	8,700	4.9	180,000
Nevada	96,000	52.7	86,000	47.3	.....	0.0	182,000
New Hampshire	96,000	41.7	93,500	40.6	40,800	17.7	230,300
New Jersey	96,000	59.3	35,000	21.6	31,000	19.0	162,000
New Mexico	96,000	58.9	57,425	35.3	9,500	5.8	162,925
new York	96,000	2.2	3,770,000	85.8	525,000	12.0	4,391,000
North Carolina	96,000	39.0	146,000	59.4	4,000	1.6	246,000
North Dakota	96,000	64.6	36,500	24.6	16,000	10.8	148,500
Ohio	96,000	49.0	100,000	51.0	.....	0.0	196,000
Oklahoma	96,000	74.7	19,600	15.2	13,000	10.1	128,600
Oregon	96,000	35.0	63,200	23.1	114,700	41.9	273,900
Pennsylvania	96,000	70.6	.....	0.0	40,000	29.4	136,000
Rhode Island	96,000	48.5	70,000	35.3	32,000	16.2	198,000
South Carolina	96,000	10.1	223,673	23.7	625,171	66.2	944,844
South Dakota	96,000	52.4	57,300	31.2	30,000	16.4	183,300
Tennessee	96,000	59.3	46,000	28.4	20,000	12.3	162,000
Texas	96,000	71.2	22,791	16.9	16,040	11.9	134,831
Utah	96,000	63.4	55,500	36.6	.....	0.0	151,500
Vermont	96,000	75.9	25,500	20.2	5,000	3.9	126,500
Virginia	96,000	66.0	22,112	15.2	27,432	18.8	145,544
Washington	96,000	24.3	61,037	15.4	238,246	60.3	395,283
West Virginia	96,000	42.9	105,208	47.0	22,700	10.1	223,908
Wisconsin	96,000	66.5	34,443	23.8	14,000	9.7	144,443
Wyoming	96,000	58.0	42,350	25.6	27,092	16.4	165,442
American Samoa	16,500	54.8	.....	0.0	13,600	45.2	30,100
Guam	16,500	27.3	44,000	72.7	.....	0.0	60,500
Puerto Rico	67,000	60.6	29,112	26.3	14,471	13.1	110,583
Virgin Islands	16,500	100.0	.....	0.0	.....	0.0	16,500
Trust Territory	16,500	42.3	19,000	48.7	3,500	9.0	39,000
Medians	96,000	34.0	55,500	48.8	16,000	17.2	156,000

* Source: State Departments of Education and Federal Programs: Annual Report Fiscal Year 1970, DHEW Publication No. (OE) 72–68. (Table 16, p. 97)

Patterns of Participation

A. Federal Requirements: Advisory Councils

Furthermore, various mechanisms for participation have been specified in federal programs, some required by legislation, others established by administrative guidelines.

Federal Level. The simplest mode is the National Advisory Council format which was mandated for Title I:

> Section 134. (a) The President shall, within ninety days after the enactment of this Title, appoint a National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children for the purpose of reviewing the administration and operation of this Title, including its effectiveness in improving the educational attainment of educationally deprived children, and making recommendations for the improvement of this Title and its administration and operation. These recommendations shall take into consideration experience gained under this and other federal educational programs for disadvantaged children and, to the extent appropriate, experience gained under other public and private educational programs for disadvantaged children.
>
> (c) The Council shall make an annual report of its findings and recommendations (including recommendations for changes in the provisions of this Title) to the President and the Congress not later than January 31 of each calendar year beginning after the enactment of this Title. The President is requested to transmit to the Congress such comments and recommendations as he may have with respect to such report. [Emphasis added]

Similar provisions were made for Titles III, V and VII. In general, National Advisory Councils are charged with the responsibility of reviewing the administration and operation of the program, making recommendations for improvement, and submitting these recommendations to the President and Congress. There is little specification in Titles I and III concerning membership. Title III suggests the inclusion of persons familiar with the educational needs of the nation, with the administration of state and local educational programs, and those representative of the general public. Title VII

specifies that at least four of the nine members be educators experienced in dealing with the educational problems of children whose native tongue is a language other than English.

State Level. Title III legislation specifies the establishment of State Advisory Councils following the same pattern as for the National Advisory Councils. The statute indicates that membership should be representative of elementary and secondary schools, institutions of higher education and areas of professional competence in special education. The functions of the council are to advise the state on policy matters, to review and make recommendations on applications, to evaluate programs and to submit a report of activities, recommendations and evaluations to the Commissioner of Education and the National Advisory Council. (P.L. 89-10, Section 305)

Local Level. Through administrative guidelines, Title I has also set forth requirements for the establishment of advisory councils in each school district receiving Title I funds. The mode of the participation has become more sharply defined over time. Authority for these regulations rested on the provision of the original legislation that state educational agencies approve grants to local agencies only after determining that they were "consistent with such basic criteria as the Commissioner may establish." (Section 205 [a]) The revised criteria which became effective on July 1, 1967 specified the involvement of parents at the local level:

> The Title I program includes appropriate activities or services in which parents will be involved. The applicant should demonstrate that adequate provision has been made in the Title I program for the participation of and special services for the parents of children involved in the programs. The employment of parents in the Title I projects is but one way to implement this provision. The primary goal of such activities and services should be to build the capabilities of the parents to work with the school in a way which supports their children's well-being, growth, and development.[12] [Emphasis added]

The guidelines of July 1968 added further explanation of this criterion:

> The criteria also require, as indicated in item 3.1 and the discussion following the item, that the same groups, agencies, parents and others be involved in a comprehensive analysis of the resources available to meet those needs and in the development of a comprehensive compensatory educational program for the coordinated use of Title I funds and of the resources from other programs and agencies.
>
> To carry out effectively the intent of these criteria, each Title I applicant must have an appropriate organizational arrangement. This means, in effect, that local advisory committees will need to be established for the planning, operation, and appraisal of a comprehensive compensatory educational program.[13] [Emphasis added]

Suggestions were made for the composition of the local advisory committee:

> It is suggested that at least 50% of the membership of the committee consist of parents of disadvantaged children attending schools serving the area where projects will be conducted, representatives of the poor from the Community Action Agency and parent members of Head Start advisory committee, if there is a Head Start project in the community, and representatives of other neighborhood-based organizations which have a particular interest in the compensatory educational program.[13] [Emphasis added]

The principal functions of the committee were also specified:

a. Supply information concerning the views of parents and children about unmet educational needs in the Title I project areas and establish priorities among these needs.

b. Recommend a general plan for the concentration of funds in specific schools and grade levels.

c. Participate in the development of proposals which are particularly adapted to bridging the gap between the needs of the pupils and the curriculum of the school.

d. Make written concurring or dissenting comments to be forwarded with the application.

e. Act as a hearing committee for suggestions to improve the compensatory educational program.

f. Hear complaints about the program and make recommendations for its improvement.

g. Participate in appraisals of the program.

Following a period of intense and conflicting pressures from both education lobbies and community groups, on April 21, 1971 additional requirements were proposed which related to public information and parental involvement at the district level. The legal form of these regulations, reported on October 14, 1971, sets out clear guidelines for dissemination of information:

> Each application by a local educational agency for a grant under Title I of the Act shall include specific plans for disseminating information concerning the provisions of Title I, and the applicant's past and present Title I programs, including evaluations of such programs, to parents and to the general public and for making available to them upon request the full text of current and past Title I applications, all pertinent documents related to those applications, evaluations of the applicant's past Title I projects, all reports required by 116.23 to be submitted to the state education agency, and such other documents as may be reasonably necessary to meet the needs of such parents or other members of the public for information related to the comprehensive planning, operation, and evaluation of the Title I program but not including information relating to the performance of identified children and teachers. Such plans shall include provisions for the reproduction, upon request, of such documents free of charge or at reasonable cost not to exceed the additional costs incurred which are not covered by Title I funds or provisions whereby persons requesting such copies will be given adequate opportunity to arrange for the reproduction of such documents. Federal Register, Vol. 36, No. 81 (April 27, 1971), Section 116.17. [Emphasis added]

The requirements for parental involvement specified that each local agency

> (1) shall describe how parents of the children to be served were consulted and involved in the planning of the project, and
>
> (2) shall set forth specific plans for the continuing involvement of such parents in the future planning and in the development and operation of the project. [Emphasis added]

In addition, regulations for the establishment of the advisory council outlined additional criteria including:

> (1) measures to insure representatives in the selection process

(2) assurance of complete and free information to the council

(3) involvement of the council in future planning

(4) adequate opportunity to consider the information and make recommendations

(5) opportunity to review prior evaluations

(6) specific provisions for informing and consulting with parents

(7) adequate procedures to respond to complaints and suggestions from parents and parent council

(8) opportunity of all parents to present views.

Introductory comments to these regulations to clarify their intent summarized some of the debate which had been generated by the initial publication and indicated the federal stance:

> The regulation [on parental involvement] is designed to give each local educational agency sufficient flexibility to establish a parent council that is appropriate for its school district and to insure that the council has the information and opportunities it needs to be effective. (Section 116)

Federal authority to establish this kind of guideline was reinforced by the Amendments of 1967 which gave broad authority to the Commissioner of Education to require such participation at his discretion. *States, therefore, have been required both to interact with state-level councils and to oversee the organization of advisory councils at the local level.*

B. SEA Activity: Patterns of Participation

1. Intrastate Activities

There is a dearth of analysis on modes of participation in state agencies and only a tenuous link here with federal activities. Still, there are indications that various new mechanisms for participation are being introduced at state levels. These mechanisms provide for both state-level participation and for local-level involvement.

State Level. The interview guide for the ETS study of State Educational Assessment Programs did not directly raise the question of participation, but in discussing the "Planning of the Program," the schedule asks:

> Who determines how the program is conducted and what changes will be made in the nature of the program (committee drawn from state universities, governor's office, teachers' association, independent organizations)? How is the planning done?

Responses to this question provide evidence on participation that tends to be sparse and ambiguous, but Table 1.1 (pp. 199-201) suggests that fourteen of the twenty-five states in this group utilize some mechanism for participation. Four general patterns are reported:

- Regional and Local Educational Personnel

  (Arkansas, South Carolina, Texas and Utah)

- Title III Needs Assessment Groups

  (Arkansas, Kentucky, Louisiana and New Jersey)

- Official State Groups

  Delaware--Educational Accountability Council
  Kansas--State School Practices Efficiency Committee
  North Carolina--Proposed Education Development Council (citizens)
  Pennsylvania--Board Committee on Quality Education and Statewide Advisory Committee

- Special Committees

  Colorado--Cross-sectional advisory group of legislators, citizens and professional educators for pilot planning
  Florida--Various groups for program review
  Utah--Groups of citizens, educators and representatives or state organizations
  Vermont--Local participation of parents and citizens

Since these expanded assessment programs represent state program administration rather than administration of a single discrete federal program, the patterns of participation suggest that states are initiating a variety of participatory mechanisms for state decision-making.

State-Local. The summary of state legislation for accountability prepared by the Cooperative Accountability Project provides several

examples of modes of local participation required by state legislation:[14]

- Colorado Legislation, 1971, establishes both state and local groups specifying in detail both term of office and membership of the state committee. Local districts are required to appoint an accountability committee consisting of at least one parent, one teacher, one school administrator, and a taxpayer from the district. (Educational Accountability Act of 1971, Article 41)

- Virginia Legislation, 1971, directs that "the principal shall involve the community and his staff in the preparation and implementation of an annual school plan which shall be consistent with the division-wide plan and which shall be approved by the division superintendent." (#845)

- New Mexico Legislation, 1971, directs the State Board of Education to recognize Educational Evaluation Committees in various school districts without current evaluation procedures and indicates that each committee shall "consist of ten members, no more than two of whom shall be teachers within the district, and the remainder of which shall be parents or concerned citizens in the school district, but having no position of responsibility within the public school system in the district." Duties of the Committee include: 1) visiting schools in the community during their usual operation, 2) observing the physical plans and educational facilities in the school district, 3) conducting open discussion at public meetings on all issues relevant to the schools for each grade level, 4) etc. (Senate Memorial 40, January, 1971)

- Illinois, 1972, requires a system of financial planning, management and control which includes "the establishment, with maximum community, school board, staff and administration participation, of measurable goals and objectives for education within the district. (Senate Bill No.1548)

- Although Connecticut has no statewide planning mechanism, legislation on the development of Innovative Educational Programs, 1971, requires: "provision for direct participation by members of the communities and students to be served by such experimental educational projects, in planning, policy-making and service functions affecting such projects." (Public Act No.430, June 6, 1971)

Efforts to encourage participation have also generated a variety of materials and programs in states. In California, the Joint Committee on Educational Goals and Evaluation in the state legislation, under Assemblyman John Vasconcellos, has produced two volumes to serve as

guidelines for local participation under the general heading Education for the People. Volume One presents "Guidelines for Total Community Participation in Forming and Strengthening the Future of Public Elementary and Secondary Education in California," and the companion piece provides "A Resource Book for School-Community Decision-Making." In South Dakota, on the other hand, state agency staff carry out a legislative authorization for community participation by drawing on the services on the Rocky Mountain States Consultant Services, Inc., to provide technical assistance to local groups in establishing community participation.[15]

The available evidence, then, provides some indicators that states are 1) utilizing a variety of mechanisms for participation in decision-making at the state level; 2) interacting with various types of local advisory groups required by legislation; and 3) engaging in service functions with local districts by providing technical assistance in the form of programs and materials.

2. Interstate Activities

Although the various Titles of ESEA require or provide models for various types of participation, the unique characteristics of Section 505 of Title V suggest a somewhat different role in influencing the climate for educational decision-making. This special project section of Title V sets aside a percentage of funds to be used:

> To pay part of the cost of experimental projects for developing state leadership or for the establishment of special services which, in the judgment of the Commissioner, hold promise of making a substantial contribution to the solution of problems common to the state education agencies of all or several states, and for grants to public regional interstate commissions or agencies for educational planning and research. [Emphasis added]

Although Section 505 has consistently had low-level funding (ranging from a high of $4.4 million in FY 1968 to well below $1 million since 1971), several features of the program deserve attention.

Between 1967 and 1972, 58 interstate projects were operational under this provision. The following table indicates the type of participation and project substance:

TABLE 1.3

SECTION 505--INTERSTATE PROJECTS 1966-1972*

Project Participation	Examples of Types of Projects
17 Fifty-State Projects	Conferences on information systems, school district organization, training for school board of education members, training institutes for Chief State School Officers
41 Interstate Projects	15 Comprehensive Planning--State leadership, the future of state education, state planning, program coordination
	18 Organizations and Administration--Certification of teachers, finance, management information systems, management of migrant programs
	8 Teacher Training and Curriculum--Demonstration centers, instructional materials, selection and evaluation materials and equipment, performance-based teacher education

* Compiled from: State Departments of Education and Federal Programs: Annual Report Fiscal Year 1970, DHEW Publication No.(OE) 72-68, and updated information from USOE Office of State Agency Cooperation.

Patterns of interaction within the forty-one interstate projects reveal a variety of relationships. Twenty-two of these projects were designated as regional in character and six as non-regional (Table 1.4).

TABLE 1.4

PATTERNS OF RELATIONSHIPS IN 41 INTERSTATE PROJECTS*

22 Regional Projects:

- 6 within boundaries of a federal region
- 9 in conjunction with a neighboring region
- 7 in conjunction with several regions

19 Non-Regional Projects:

- in conjunction with states scattered through the nation

* Compiled from: State Departments of Education and Federal Programs: Annual Report Fiscal Year 1970, DHEW Publication No.(OE) 72-68, and updated information from USOE Office of State Agency Cooperation.

TABLE 1.5

INTERSTATE PROJECTS--1966-1972*

REGION	STATE	PROJECT PARTICIPATION**	ADMINISTERING STATE***
I	Connecticut	7	1
	Maine	4	
	Massachusetts	3	1
	New Hampshire	4	1
	Rhode Island	4	1
	Vermont	4	
II	New Jersey	6	1
	New York	12	6
III	Delaware	7	
	Maryland	6	3
	Pennsylvania	8	3
	Virginia	3	
	West Virginia	8	1
IV	Alabama	7	2
	Florida	14	3
	Georgia	7	3
	Kentucky	4	1
	Mississippi	4	
	North Carolina	8	
	South Carolina	4	
	Tennessee	5	1
V	Illinois	7	1
	Indiana	4	
	Michigan	11	1
	Ohio	13	
	Minnesota	10	2
	Wisconsin	7	3
VI	Arkansas	6	
	Louisiana	4	
	Texas	9	3
	New Mexico	4	
	Oklahoma	4	
VII	Iowa	5	3
	Kansas	3	
	Missouri	4	
	Nebraska	4	
VIII	Colorado	12	6
	Montana	4	
	North Dakota	3	
	South Dakota	9	
	Wyoming	4	
IX	Arizona	5	
	California	12	2
	Nevada	4	
	Hawaii	4	
X	Alaska	3	
	Idaho	5	
	Oregon	7	2
	Utah	9	2
	Washington	11	1

* Compiled from: State Departments of Education and Federal Programs: Annual Report Fiscal Year 1970, DHEW Publication No.(OE) 72-68, and updated information from USOE Office of State Agency Cooperation

** Participation in 41 Interstate Projects (excluding 17 Fifty-State Projects)

*** Administration of 58 Title V Projects (including 17 Fifty-State Projects)

Every state has participated in at least three of the forty-one Interstate Projects and nine states have participated in more than ten. All fifty-eight projects functioned through an administering state, and twenty-six states have played this role at least once; nine states have administered three or more projects. (Table 1.5)[16]

Without attempting to assess the quality of program substance, the immediate results of projects, or the intricacies of how projects and states were chosen *it is possible to conclude that this piece of federal legislation focused state attention on certain issues, such as management and planning, and facilitated activity related to these issues. It also facilitated cross-state interaction not restricted to geographical locales.** *This level of interstate involvement suggests at least the rudiments of an informal multi-faceted interstate structure of interpersonal contacts and communication channels both within and across regions.*

Recapitulation

Federal action in the administration of ESEA included: 1) requirements for information gathering and reporting including detailed demographic data and objective measures of Title I student performance; 2) general requirements for state plans and funding and opportunities for the planning and evaluation of federal programs; 3) funding and encouragement for comprehensive planning. State activity under ESEA has included: 1) significant increases in personnel; 2) expanded assessment activities; 3) the establishment of planning units within SEA's.

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* It should be emphasized that this type of cooperative interstate activity is not at all exclusively related to federal programs, although it is reinforced by other federal activities such as the Rocky Mountain States Satellite Project. A number of other activities such as foundation-supported programs of Carnegie and Ford have developed similar cross-state ties. In addition, the widespread use of management or educational consultants supports other networks of related activities across states.

Through legislation and guidelines for advisory councils, the federal government has established modes of participation in decision-making at the federal, state, and local levels. State activity demonstrates a variety of patterns of participation with both state-level and local-level councils. In addition, interstate projects have established formal mechanisms for interstate cooperation both within and across regions.

PART THREE

FEDERAL ACTIVITY AND NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COALITIONS

The array of education groups impacting on federal policy is extensive. Among the most visible are the members of the "Big Six": the American Association of School Administrators, the National Education Association, the Council of Chief State School Office, the National School Boards Association, the National Association of State Boards of Education, and the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. Within NEA, each professional role, such as the elementary and secondary school principal, has its organization. Teachers are also represented by the powerful American Federation of Teachers. In 1964, governors and state education agency personnel formed a "Compact" eventually leading to the Education Commission of the States. As described by James Koerner, citizens' groups have been more ephemeral: the national Citizens Commission for Public Schools flourished in 1949, the National Citizens Council for Better Schools in 1956, the National Committee for Support of Public Schools in 1962.[17] The list of national groups could be expanded almost indefinitely to include special interests such as the National Catholic Education Association, testing and accrediting agencies, as well as higher education organizations.

A significant move for the consolidation of power among major groups occurred in 1969 with the formation of the Emergency Committee for Full Funding. Although the group was successful in pressuring Congress to override a 1970 presidential veto of educational appropriations, the diversity of interests within the coalition has caused a cyclical pattern of activity and quiescence since then.

The move towards national power groups, however, continues to expand in a variety of ways: increasing momentum among established groups, reactivation of dormant groups, formation of new ones. Several examples support this view. The National Association of Secondary School Principals has discussed proposals to sever affiliation with NEA and to operate independently. The National Committee for Support of Public Schools has been reactivated under the leadership of Carl Marburger, J. William Rieux, and Stanley Salett. The formation of the Coalition of State, City and County Officials was announced in August, 1973 as a lobby "to increase the influence of non-federal elected officials over federal programs operating in their jurisdictions."[18] National level action continues unabated.

The entrance of the federal government into the arena of elementary and secondary education traditionally reserved to the state and local agencies produced shock waves in the educational establishment. Such activity was perceived as a threat to state and local autonomy and it generated strong reaction among groups such as the Council of Chief State School Officers. On the other hand, federal funds have supported some activities of groups such as the Education Commission of the States and the National School Board Association. The following overview of recent activities of these selected groups suggests that, both by precipitating opposition and by supporting activities, ESEA has played a role in solidifying the power of nationwide groups that articulate educational policy at the federal, state, and local levels.

Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO)

Because authority for education is vested in the states, historically the structure of state educational activity has been marked by isolation and fragmentation among the fifty states. State agencies emerged in various states over a hundred-year period, subject to widely differing constitutional authority, and with diverse administrative styles and relationships with local districts and legislators. Over time state agency functions have evolved from simple

data-gathering activities of the nineteenth century to various types of leadership roles.[19] A number of factors contributed to some similarity of developments among the states: data-gathering activities required by the federal education agency with its establishment in 1867; curriculum requirements at the secondary level generated by the formalization of college entrance requirements;[20] the subtler influences of mass textbook production; the development of national professional groups (AASA, NEA, NASSP); and the market monopoly enjoyed by a few prestigious universities in supplying school superintendents. These influences came from diverse sources and they were to a large extent outside the formal authority structure of state departments of education.

In 1948, the superintendents of education in each state formed the Washington-based Council of Chief State School Officers. In broad outline, this group can be seen as an alliance of state education officers functioning in three ways: first, it builds communication networks among those holding major offices through scheduled conferences. Regular newsletters serve a second major function by channeling information to all states, identifying issues, marshalling arguments, enlisting support--a powerful tool to generate at least a modicum on consensus among states traditionally perceived as discrete entities. Finally, both the interpersonnel networks and the information channels enable the organization to function as a lobby, impacting on decision-making at the federal level.

Perhaps the most striking testimony to the unification developing among SEA's is two volumes, representing several years work, which articulate CCSSO policy on federal-state and state-local relationships.[21] The volumes are essentially a summary of policy positions taken over a period of years. The discussion of federal-state relationships addresses the issue of federal intrusion into state policy, insists on the rights of states to control education within their domain, and politely, but strongly, urges appropriate and somewhat vague patterns of "partnership." The existence of such documents is perhaps even more significant than their substance--the chief education

officers of fifty states speaking as a single voice on national educational policy.

In two major instances since 1965, CCSSO demonstrated its power as a lobbying force capable of impacting on federal legislation. In 1967, CCSSO joined forces with the "Big Six" to gain state control over 85% of Title III funds.[22] The group was also instrumental in getting congressional approval for the Title IV Amendment which authorized funds for state planning.

CCSSO regularly publishes policy statements on pertinent issues. The first item of the report of the Annual Business Meeting of November 15, 1972, for example, comments on Accountability:

> Accountability
>
> The Council of Chief State School Officers believes that a clear set of goals, and a reporting of the degree to which these goals are met, are essential in American education.
>
> Therefore, the Council urges each chief state school officer to provide required leadership in the setting of goals and the evaluation and assessment of all programs involving student time and public funds, appropriately publicizing achievements and deficiencies, so that all citizens may know the results of their investment in education.[23]

The final item addresses the problem of federal-state relationships:

> USOE-CCSSO Relationships
>
> The Council of Chief State School Officers views its relationship with the Office of Education as more than periodic, routine mutual endorsements in principle. The Council declares that it is imperative that there be prior formal consultations by USOE with groups of chief state school officers formed by the Council before legislative, regulatory guidelines or budgetary initiatives are taken by USOE which will significantly affect state education interests.
>
> The Council acknowledges the concerns of the Congress over Office of Education/National Institute of Education-State relations in education, and pledges that the Congress

will be kept fully informed by the Council on the status of these relationships.[23]

In a statement of July 9, 1973, CCSSO expressed strong resistance to efforts of the present Administration to decentralize the Office of Education by expanding the functions of ten regional offices.

The character of the USOE-CCSSO relationship has, however, fluctuated widely over time, shaped by both the political climate and the force of central personalities. The groups have joined forces in a number of ways designed to strengthen SEA's--summer institutes for Chief State School Officers, institutes for mid-management SEA personnel, study seminars, and special projects such as special education and career education.

A recent phase of CCSSO activity signals a potential new phase of relationships. In January 1973, as a result of CCSSO initiative, the Office of Education joined with the group to establish the Committee on Evaluation and Information Systems (CEIS).[24] Members of twelve sub-committees who are SEA (and LEA) personnel will cooperate with liaisons from major OE programs to review OE activities in the areas of data-gathering, planning, and evaluation. Since the groups have not yet begun to function fully, the impact of this alliance cannot yet be determined. Whatever political interpretations can be assigned to this move, from an organizational point of view the committee can be construed as structurally meeting a basic organizational principle of involving those who will be affected by action. In this sense, the establishment of the committee represents a minimal condition necessary for program implementation.

The CCSSO has demonstrated in the past that it can influence policy at the national level. The formation of CEIS is a major development at the federal level that deserves careful attention in terms of its impact on the scope of educational activity related to data-gathering, planning, and evaluation. The Committee also deserves study in terms of the range of participants: the level of involvement, the adequacy of representation, and breadth of interest.

Education Commission of the States (ECS)

The Education Commission of the States has also emerged as a national coalition of education personnel. Established in 1964 as a "Compact" with a special focus on legislative issues within states and with a membership consisting of governors as well as education personnel, the organization has a base for substantial political influence. ECS serves as a clearinghouse for information on activities within states. Like CCSSO, it too builds interpersonal networks and information channels. Its impact on decision-making is somewhat more difficult to pinpoint because its primary target groups are within the states.

Like CCSSO, ECS constitutes a "federation" of state personnel, but it functions as a service organization rather than as a policy-making group. A regular newsletter announces ECS administrative meetings; regional conferences highlight pertinent legislative issues at the state level. In addition, the ECS Legislative Review, covering legislative activity in the states, is published weekly when legislative activity is at its peak and monthly during the rest of the year.

A major production of ECS is a periodic compendium of legislation in the states, Legislation, Achievements, and Problems in Education.[25] The 1972 document is a veritable encyclopedia of state activities, carefully categorized, and systematically identifying appropriate contact people in each state agency. It thus not only provides information, but it facilitates further contact and sharing among states. The 1972 Survey, for example, contains seventy items describing state activity in the area of accountability compiled from the reports of twenty-eight states.

There is little to indicate to what degree such a document is utilized by state personnel and, therefore, to assess its impact.

It is clear that state officials at a variety of levels rather assiduously forwarded pertinent information for inclusion in the compendium. Given the growing evidence of ways in which states look to other states for information and expertise, the utility and influence of the ECS data bank is self-evident, and its potential for shaping state activity strong.

Because ECS functions with an organizational staff, it offers an alternative vehicle for carrying out a national program. The most striking example of the importance of this capability is the transference of the management of the National Assessment of Education Progress to ECS in 1969. The project had evolved since 1964 through joint foundation and OE funding. The shift in the locus of management responsibility was the culmination of a power struggle between OE and the states.[26] National Assessment publications report the transfer in the following way:

> The Education Commission of the States assumed full responsibility for managing the National Assessment program on July 1, 1969 because of its interest in accountability and after it had been requested by educational organizations who felt that the Commission was broadly based and appropriately responsible to the public.[27] [Emphasis added]

This statement raises a number of immediate questions such as: To what public is ECS responsible? And somewhat more probing questions such as: What is the source of ECS interest in accountability? How is this interest communicated to its "broad base"? What impact does this interest have on shaping educational activities in the states? (A current ECS policy, for example, is to encourage and facilitate the use of National Assessment at the state level. At least fourteen states are currently utilizing National Assessment tests and each ECS Bulletin reports the increasing momentum.)

The federal role in triggering the growth of ECS is less obvious than in the case of CCSSO, but in several ways the structure of the organization and its functions are complementary to CCSSO. Like CCSSO it stands as a strong and highly visible coordinator of state

interests. Because of its service orientation it could be expected that it will continue and expand its operations. Such development would mark an important escalation of a coalition movement in education and would give new prominence to ways in which ECS interests are determined and the identification of the publics to which it is responsible. Furthermore, the initial indicators that ECS helps to shape SEA activity and provide a unifying (and uniforming) influence on states means that the substance of what is communicated deserves careful study and analysis.

National School Boards Association (NSBA)

The organization of the National School Boards Association offers sharp contrast to both CCSSO and ECS.* Local school board members are represented in a state association which in turn elects representatives to the national association. The national organization, which was organized in 1940, moved to Washington in 1966.

The somewhat unwieldy representational structure which includes a general assembly was significantly altered in 1971 to allow direct membership of local board members. Services to this group include: 1) a fortnightly newsletter, 2) workshops and seminars, 3) research. The national association directly states that the financial resources made available by this program ($250 to $5,000 per district depending on size) will support lobbying activity at the federal level.[28] The program also opens up a new channel for providing technical assistance for local boards. The educational policies research branch of the organization, funded in 1968 by the Office of Education, has produced a wide range of manuals, handbooks, kits, and other materials for codifying school board policies and updating practices. Approximately 1700 local school districts presently utilize this service. In addition, NSBA offers the American School Board Journal which has a

* Although the National Association of State Boards of Education also offers a rich source of material for this discussion, the local school board organization has been selected for examination here to indicate momentum at the local as well as the state level.

subscription list of 50,000 and a variety of resource materials including cassettes dealing with problems such as student rights, measuring staff performance, community involvement and legal issues. Other materials provide guidelines for developing job descriptions in a local district and training packages for problem-solving experiences.

NSBA thus combines its lobbying activity with service functions. It is concerned both with providing a voice for the layman in education at the federal level and with "mounting a nationwide long-range public information effort" and providing a growing number direct services.

This surge of NSBA activity in recent years has derived fiscal support from the Office of Education. The impressive array of materials designed to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of school boards speaks to major educational issues. The new pattern of direct affiliate membership signals a new kind of relationship with local districts and suggests a significant expansion of this organization in its capacity to build interpersonnel networks, to channel information, and to impact on decision-making. It is a different kind of coalition, with the potential for impacting much more directly on local districts. A whole range of questions arise from this phenomenon: What is member relationship to SEA's and how do these impact on SEA-local relations and SEA administration? What congruence is there between policy recommendations disseminated to school boards and state school policies? How effective have been previous efforts at technical assistance and what will be the results of these new efforts? Is there any coordination between technical assistance to school board members and technical assistance to school administrators/teachers provided from other sources? Do participants fall into any distinctive geographical breakdowns and is there any relationship between the patterns of users and other educational directions discernible within the state?

Here, as with ECS, the potential of the organization for

impacting on schooling across the nation is of significant proportions to merit systematic and careful analysis.

Summary

This description of the emergence of new educational coalitions at the national level has necessarily been selective and highly generalized.[29] It can, of course, be argued that the phenomenon outlined here is nothing other than a continuation of a pattern of the nationalization of interest groups represented by associations such as the American Federation of Teachers, the National Education Association, or the American Association of School Administrators. The counter-argument suggests that seven years of massive federal educational programming have helped to create a substantially different scene by offering both a challenge to control that solidified group interests and a source of support monies that strengthened their capabilities. Furthermore, the groups identified here represent personnel with assigned authority and responsibility at state and local levels. The consolidation of these groups at the national level can impact directly on both state and local agencies.

The focus on the role of the federal agency in this development in no way suggests sole or even major influence on the development of the coalitions described. From one point of view, the strengthened power of SEA's is part of a much broader general effort to increase the capabilities of the states. Such efforts have been heavily supported both by foundations and by citizen groups.[30] Whatever the range of contributing factors, this "nationalization" trend of education is not simply an accidental inevitability, but a direction that has been specifically supported by a number of forces. The increasing power of educational decision-makers can be variously interpreted as 1) a counterforce to face up to demands of pressure groups such as AFT and NEA on one hand and the federal government on the other; 2) a consolidation of power by yet another professional/political interest group; or 3) a new energy to facilitate systematic improvement of education on a national scale. Given the current

flux in the educational scene, it is not yet clear which of these interpretations holds the most validity, and the conclusion is not at this moment inevitable.

The nationalization of educational issues through dramatic court decisions has set the stage; instant communication possible in today's society has helped to set the actors in motion. These national groups exist; their capabilities are apparent. They will receive challenge, encouragement, support from a variety of directions. It is the character of the expectations proposed to them from multiple publics, the kinds of demands and the kinds of support they receive, that will determine what role they play in the educational enterprise in setting directions and priorities.

PART FOUR

SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR FEDERAL POLICY-MAKERS

Several movements converge at this time to create new pressures on the American educational scene. The move to decentralization, reflected in discussions for revenue sharing and grant consolidation, promises to change patterns of educational decision-making. Shifts in the lines of power and responsibility and in the channels for resource allocation will focus attention on different levels of the governmental hierarchy and stimulate new patterns of interaction and cooperation among relevant actors.

Current administration support for Special Education Revenue Sharing has been clearly articulated in public documents which indicate the purpose and the expectations. The purpose, expressed in the proposed Better Schools Act of 1973, is summarized by HEW Secretary Caspar Weinberger in the letter of transmittal to House Speaker Carl Albert:

> It is the purpose of this bill to consolidate certain elementary and secondary education grant programs into a system of Federal revenue sharing for education designed to meet the needs of State and local school systems and to do so in a manner designed to provide State and local education officials with the flexibility and responsibility they need to make meaningful decisions in response to the needs of their students. [Emphasis added]

In supporting the Bill before the General Education Subcommittee of the House of Representatives, Secretary Weinberger stated that the Bill would "redefine the Federal role in elementary and secondary education" and "remove the Federal straitjacket which assumes that what is good for one State is equally beneficial to another."

In addition, the Bill seeks

> nothing less than a new definition of the relationship between the Federal government and State and local governments--one which responds to present educational needs and anticipates the needs of the future.

Neither the letter of transmittal nor the statement of Secretary Weinberger, however, suggests the precise character of this relationship, appropriate measures of responsiveness or procedures for anticipating future needs.

The Administration's decision to withdraw the Better Schools Act does not signal a retreat from its basic principle--the devolution of power (and problems) to the states. Plans for education revenue sharing and grant consolidation which reflect the principle are very much alive and supported by representatives of the educational community at a variety of levels. Furthermore, current emphasis on the state role in education receives additional impetus from the surge of so-called accountability legislation in the states which is documented by Maureen Webster in the following chapter. Shifts in state roles are occurring in practice as well as in rhetoric.

The central function of recent federal legislation has been to channel funds to meet educational needs as perceived at the national level. The proliferation of categorical grants, however, has produced restrictions on the use of funds and fostered uncoordinated administrative patterns at state and local levels which are now recognized as dysfunctional. Revenue sharing and grant consolidation are policies designed to reduce this restrictiveness and to allow greater flexibility at the state level. In the process, however, federal responsibility in the federal-state partnership is becoming defined ever-more exclusively in terms of fiscal support only. Although administration policies do point to plans for technical assistance to states, the concept is vague and the commitment unclear.

The previous sections of this paper have pointed to three factors pertinent to decisions which reshape the federal-state partnership:

1. the current expansion of assessment and planning activities at the state level;

2. the increasing activity of national coalitions influencing decision-making at federal, state, and local levels;

3. the untapped resource of recent federal experience and its influence on state and local policy.

Each of these features of the educational scene has significant implications for a federal agency.

Expansion of Planning, Assessment, and Participation at the State Level

The burgeoning state activity in planning, evaluation, and participation outlined in the preceding section will be described in detail in the following chapter. The extended analysis highlights both common threads of the state experience and patterns of variation among states. Furthermore, it hints that intensive activity in individual states is building a body of experiences that characterizes certain states as "lead" states.

It is clear that much of this new activity, especially in the area of planning and assessment, has been stimulated, supported, and sometimes justified by federal funds. These changes currently underway in state agencies will stabilize, increase in momentum, change direction, or cease. They will be affected in yet undetermined ways by changes in funding patterns.

Moves towards decentralization give increased importance to such activities in state agencies. The federal agency, therefore, has a stake in developments at the state level in the consequences of revenue sharing for states and for their capacities to plan, assess, and guide it. This means, at a minimum, tracking the patterns of changes which occur in agencies subsequent to funding shifts in order to have

solid information about the consequences which can guide future action. It could, in addition, mean the development of new types of technical assistance programs to distill the common experience of states so it can be shared, to facilitate problem-solving activities for those situations unique to a state, and to consolidate the gains apparent in "lead" states by increasing communication among states.

In addition, the expanding role of state agencies and increased pressures for accountability are pushing states to clarify their own roles and responsibilities in relation to local districts. A careful analysis of federal-state interactions could produce analytic tools which raise the issues that states, too, must deal with in assessing the character and quality of state-local relationship.

If the current shifts in funding patterns are to provide the base for a redefinition of federal-state relationships, there is need to identify concurrent changes in state agencies, and to anticipate the consequences of those changes for federal policy.

The Increasing Activity of National Coalitions

The proliferation of educational interest groups at the national level and the increasing power of those already functioning, especially those representative of educational policy-makers, indicates a trend that is likely to increase rather than diminish. The phenomenon of national coalitions has reached a point where it is possible to distinguish, at least conceptually, between federal educational policy which guides the activity of the federal government and national educational policy positions which represent a wide array of concerns of interest groups and decision-makers. Recent years of federal activity in education have been marked by cooperation, hostility, and compromise between these two. The increasing power of coalitions suggests that in the immediate future patterns of relationships will solidify. The emerging pattern will either sharply limit the federal role or it will creatively shape new styles of interaction between federal and "national" groups.

Because coalitions have their own momentum generated by their constituencies, the main responsibility for the character of the relationship rests with the federal agency. At present, there appears to be no clear and consistent policy guiding federal relationships with various groups. The conceptual and practical problens related to formulating such a policy are, of course, enormous, but the federal agency will inevitably be faced with decisions to interact with or to ignore these groups. Analysis which surfaces the problems and explores alternative policies can provide a grounding for such decisions.

The increasing visibility and power of national interest groups points, therefore, to the need to address the issues they raise for a federal agency, to articulate the rationale for current practice, and to explore and assess alternative policies.

The Untapped Resource of Federal Experience

Since the NDEA legislation of 1958, the U.S. Office of Education has not only channelled funds for targeted educational programs; it has also initiated and supervised extensive activity in teacher-training, curriculum development, planning and evaluation, participatory mechanisms, institutional organization and administration. There is, therefore, more than a decade of accumulated experience derived from the successes, failures, and ambiguities of activity in every phase of the educational enterprise. At some point in time, each one of these areas has received attention as the "key" to educational changes and funds have flowed first to programs and later to populations to achieve this goal. (In this context, programs for decentralization can be seen as the most recent strategy to solve the problems of education or as a rejection of the notion of a federal solution.)

The mode of accountability required by Congress and the mandates of specific pieces of legislation have resulted in a federal evaluation policy focused on discrete programs and projects. There has

been neither mandate nor mechanism to direct attention to broad questions of federal influence. The narrow focus of individual pieces of research provides only limited perspectives on the large picture of federal action.*

Analyses of individual programs do influence policy, but the view can often be short-term and the base of information narrow. Reliance on this mode of research alone contributes to a style of decision-making which draws on insufficient information to terminate apparently unsuccessful programs and to move quickly to new strategies.

Because the federal government has now been involved in elementary and secondary education for eight years, there is a backlog of experience that lends itself to broad-based analysis. Besides expanding the base for federal decision-making, such analysis could also be useful at the state level. Added decision-making power at the state level means increased scope of action for states as well as increased political pressure. At this moment, some states are searching for levers for change, selecting from a variety of strategies for action: teacher training, curriculum, planning and evaluation, organization and management, public participation. Although some states will forge ahead to mold new and creative strategies, others will simply repeat the cycle of federal history, moving from one to the other in search of the "key." Even though the situation of the states and the Office of Education are not entirely analogous, there is an accumulation of experience at the federal level in addressing problems of strategies for change that could inform decision-making at the state level. Such analysis could identify the educational issues common at all levels. It could also begin to sort out the organizational and political issues unique to each level of decision-making. Such research offers a base for a new type of federal-state interface by providing a special form of technical assistance.

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* Jerome T. Murphy's examination of the effect of Title V funds on state agencies, for example, draws conclusions based on evidence in three states and excludes interstate activities funded under Section 505 and planning activities funded for the first time in 1970.

There is, then, a need for studies which review and synthesize federal experience with change strategies and which translate this into policy options for federal action and into policy analysis for state use.

The new legal and influence structures described in previous sections are creating a situation of fluidity and uncertainty. The burden of this presentation has been to point out that, both directly and indirectly, the federal apparatus (including both legislative and administrative branches) has helped to shape the current educational scene. Through its own operating style, through fiscal resources, and through administrative guidelines, it has supported the development of new structures for educational decision-making. It is through such structures that the future of education will be invented. The quality of that future depends upon the care with which these structures are examined and the soundness of the decisions they generate.

FOOTNOTES

1. There is as yet no adequate study of the developments of the last fifteen years of educational change. Efforts to provide some kind of integrated or comprehensive perspective usually produce a collection of independent and discrete analyses of various aspects of the educational scene. See, for example, Emerging Issues in Education: Policy Implications for the Schools, ed. James E. Bruno (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1972), a publication of papers resulting from RAND seminars held between 1969 and 1971. The seventeen authors address issues such as equality, finance, community control, teacher militancy, curriculum, learning, heritability and teachability, performance contracting and accountability.

2. See, for example, Stephen K. Bailey and Edith K. Mosher, ESEA: The Office of Education Administers a Law (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1968); Jerome T. Murphy, "Title I of ESEA: The Politics of Implementing Federal Educational Reform," Harvard Educational Review 41 (February 1971): 35-63; and Grease the Squeaky Wheel: A Report on the Implementation of Title V of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, 'Grants to Strengthen State Departments of Education" (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Graduate School of Education, Center for Educational Policy Research, 1973); P. Michael Timpane, "Educational Experimentation in National Social Policy," Harvard Educational Review 40 (November 1970): 547-566.

3. Joel S. Berke and Michael W. Kirst, Federal Aid to Education: Who Benefits? Who Governs? (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1972).

4. Roald F. Campbell and Robert A. Bunnell, Nationalizing Influences on Secondary Education (University of Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, 1963).

5. Jay D. Scribner, "Impact of Federal Programs on State Departments of Education," in Education in the States: Nationwide Developments Since 1900, eds. Edgar Fuller and Jim B. Pearson (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association of the United States, 1969), pp.497-553.

6. Federal Register, Vol. 36, No. 199, 14 October 1971, Section 116.26.

7. This dilemma suggests that current efforts to consolidate federal grants may constitute a necessary but not a sufficient condition for increasing state capabilities in comprehensive planning and evaluation.

8. For analysis of the process of decision-making, see Murphy, Grease the Squeaky Wheel, pp.187-221; and Sam P. Harris, State Departments of Education, State Boards of Education and Chief State School Officers, DHEW Publication No.(OE) 73-07400, 1973.

9. Murphy, Grease the Squeaky Wheel, p.330.

10. State Educational Assessment Programs, prepared by Educational Testing Service in collaboration with Education Commission of the States and Education Resources Information Center (Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1971).

11. The Status of Comprehensive Planning and Application of System Analysis Concepts in Planning by State Departments of Education, December, 1971.

12. ESEA Title I Program Guide #36, Memorandum from John F. Hughes, Director, Division of Compensatory Education, Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education, Office of Education, to Chief State School Officers and Title I Coordinators, ESEA, April 14, 1967.

13. ESEA Title I Program Guide #46, Memorandum from Harold Howe II, U.S. Commissioner of Education, to Chief State School Officers, July 2, 1968.

14. Legislation by the States: Accountability and Assessment in Education, prepared by Phyllis Hawthorne, Wisconsin State Educational Accountability Project (Denver, Colo.: Cooperative Accountability Project, 1972).

15. Examples of materials produced for the South Dakota Department of Public Instruction include: "Student Needs Identification: A Leadership Development Clinic," and "Practice in Using Communication and Problem-Solving Skills: A Leadership Training Work."

16. The bases for a possible theoretical model for analyzing patterns of leadership among states are suggested by Jack Williams, "The Diffusion of Innovations among the American States," in State and Urban Politics, eds. Richard I. Hofferbert and Ira Sharkansky (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1971), pp.377-412.

17. James D. Koerner, Who Controls American Education? A Guide for Laymen (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), pp.70-72. The unique character of this informal "handbook" points to the need for a more systematic, updated examination of influence groups at the national level.

18. James G. Phillips, "Washington Pressures/New State-Local Lobbying Coalition Looks for Common Ground on Federal Issues," National Journal Reports, Vol. V, No. 36, 8 September 1973, p.1338.

19. Donald H. Layton, "Historical Development and Current Status of State Departments of Education," in Strengthening State Departments of Education, eds. Roald F. Campbell, Gerald E. Sroufe, and Donald H. Layton (University of Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, June, 1967).

20. Michael S. Schudson, "Organizing the 'Meritocracy': A History of the College Entrance Examination Board," Harvard Educational Review 42 (February, 1972): 34-69. In Campbell and Bunnell, Nationalizing Influences on Secondary Education, Kenton Stephens identifies seven nation-level influences on secondary schools and points out that more than fifty organizations could be identified (p.3).

21. State and Local Responsibilities for Education: A Position Statement (Washington, D.C.: Council of Chief State School Officers, 1968); State and Federal Relationships in Education: A Position Statement (Washington, D.C.: Council of Chief State School Officers, 1971).

22. One view of the controversy surrounding the administration of ESEA Title III is summarized by Jay D. Scribner, "Impacts of Federal Programs in State Departments of Education," in Education in the States: Nationwide Development Since 1900, eds. Edgar Fuller and Jim B. Pearson (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association of the United States, 1969), pp.538-39.

23. Policies and Resolutions adopted by Council of Chief State School Officers, Annual Business Meeting, San Francisco, November 15, 1972.

24. Interim Reports, Council of Chief State School Officers' Committee on Evaluation and Information Systems (CEIS) to the Special Coordinating Committee for Educational Information (SCCEI): #1 CEIS Recommendation on Office of Education's FY-74 Annual Data Plan; #2 CEIS Status Report on Evaluation; #3 CEIS Status Report on Research and Development (San Francisco, March 19, 1973).

25. Legislation, Achievements and Problems in Education: A Survey of the States, 1972 (Denver, Colo.: Education Commission of the States, May, 1972).

26. Ralph W. Tyler, "National Assessment: A History and Sociology," in New Models for American Education, eds. James W. Guthrie and Edward Wynne (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), pp.20-34.

27. National Assessment of Educational Progress; A Project of the Education Commission of the States, Report 2: Citizenship: National Results (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, November 1970), p.iii.

28. Brochures describing "Direct Affiliate" membership and services provided to members are provided by NSBA from its offices in Evanston, Illinois.

29. Suggestions for a possible theoretical model for analyzing such national coalitions can be found in Laurence Iannaccone, Politics in Education (New York: The Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1967), which describes shifts in state educational relationships ranging from discrete local groupings to state coalitional interrelationships.

30. The Ford Foundation, for example, funded a study of state legislatures which resulted in: Citizens Conference on State Legislatures, The Sometime Governments: A Critical Study of the 50 American Legislatures (New York: Bantam Books, 1971).

Chapter Two

THE QUEST FOR BETTER SCHOOLS

Statewide Testing Legislation and Educational Policy

by

Maureen MacDonald Webster

PART ONE

LEGISLATION, ACCOUNTABILITY, AND STATEWIDE TESTING

Introduction and Overview

The Changing Context for Decision-Making

Concerns for social justice, for quality, for efficient and effective management in the domain of education are not new. However, the contemporary translation of these concerns through pressures for "accountability" for the outcomes of schooling in relation to expenditures of tax dollars is a new phenomenon. The push for accountability is growing and it is creating changes in the context for decisions about educational policy. This development has its source in several trends of the past decade.

- The provision of virtually universal public schooling through high school allows and impels an increasing shift in attention from responsibility for access to schooling to responsibility for its outcomes.

- Massive federal involvement in education has contributed to rising expectations and increasing awareness of disadvantage on the part of those with sub-standard schooling.

- The ambivalence of several major publicized evaluations of the impact of massive subsidization has eroded confidence that large infusions of tax dollars will result in substantial improvements in the measured performance of schooling.

- The costs of schooling are increasing together with the resistance of taxpayers to the rising curve of expenditures on education.

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TABLE 2.1

STATE LEGISLATION FOR ACCOUNTABILITY IN EDUCATION
Through Fall 1972

A. Legislation introduced and enacted		23 states[1]
Introduced	29 states[1]	
Enacted	23 states	
Not enacted	6 states[2]	
B. Legislation may be introduced in 1973		10 states
May be introduced	16 states	
States included in A	6 states	
States not included in A	10 states	
C. No legislation enacted or proposed		18 states
No enactment to fall 1972	28 states	
Possible in 1973	10 states	

Notes: 1. Including the District of Columbia
2. Including two states where other accountability legislation was enacted

Source: Derived from information reported by the Cooperative Accountability Project, May and October 1972, and April 1973

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May 1973

State Accountability Legislation Circa 1972

Many states have responded to these trends by legislation. By Fall 1972 accountability legislation had been introduced in twenty-nine states and enacted in twenty-three. Bills will probably be introduced in ten more states during the 1973 legislative sessions.*

Some fifty-four specific pieces of legislation, recorded to date in the Cooperative Accountability Project, were studied for this analysis.[1] Thirty-four of these are dated 1971 or 1972 and twelve are dated 1969 or 1970. Thus, over 80% of the legislation was introduced in the past four years.**

Table 2.4 (pages 66-67) shows the emphases of legislation in the twenty-three states with accountability statutes.

- Thirteen states require statewide testing/assessment of student performance. Three of the statutes include a requirement to develop a uniform information system and one includes provision for evaluation of professional employees.

- Twelve states require the development of management information systems (PPBS, MIS, etc.). In three cases these requirements are included in a statute that provides primarily for testing/assessment.

- Eight states require the development of systematic procedures for evaluating the performance of professional employees. This provision is combined with student assessment requirements in one statute (for Virginia).

- One state has enacted legislation to regulate the use of performance contracting. This is California's Guaranteed Learning Achievement Act of 1971.

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* See Table 2.1, page 64.

** The statutes and their status are detailed in Tables 2.2 and 2.3 in the Appendix, pages 202-204.

A 22030-U

TABLE 2.4

PATTERNS OF LEGISLATION FOR ACCOUNTABILITY IN EDUCATION
Through Fall 1972

State	Management Systems	Testing / Assessment	Employee Evaluation	Performance Contracting
Alaska*	PPBS 1970			
Illinois	PPBS 1972			
Indiana	PPBS 1971			
Hawaii	PPBS 1970			
Ohio	PPBS 1972			
New Mexico	UAS 1967			
Arizona*	UAS 1972	1969, 1972		
Nebraska*	MIS / UAS '69	1969		
Rhode Island*	MIS / UAS '69	1963, 1969		
Colorado	PPBS 1971	1971		
Pennsylvania		1963		
Massachusetts		1965		
Michigan		1970		
Wisconsin		1972		
Maryland		1972		
Connecticut*		1971	1972	
Virginia*		1972	1972	
Florida	1968, 1970	1970, 1971	1969	
California	1967, 1971	1965, 69, 71	1969, 1971	1971
New Jersey*		[1972]	1971	
Oregon			1971	
South Dakota			1969, 1971	
Washington			1969	
Number of states	12	13	8	1

Key: PPBS = Planning–programming–budgeting system
UAS = Uniform Accounting system
MIS = Management information system
▭ = Pattern of statewide testing and associated legislation

A 22031-U

TABLE 2.4 continued

*Notes

*Legislation for Arizona, Nebraska, Rhode Island, and Virginia contains more than one component of accountability in the same bill.

*Alaska: PPBS is required for all state agencies under 1970 statute.

*Connecticut: The 1972 statute requires the development of a personnel evaluation program; i.e., it does not mandate implementation of an evaluation program.

*California: The 1967 and 1971 statutes for management systems established committees to study the PPBS area and make recommendations to the State Board. They did NOT mandate PPBS.

*New Jersey: The 1972 bill did not pass. The Cooperative Accountability Project reports that the bill will not be re-presented because "most of the features of the bill are in the process of being carried out."

Source: Analysis of statutes the texts of which were reproduced by the Cooperative Accountability Project, 1972 and 1973, plus additional information from Florida SEA.

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May 1973

Statewide Testing/Assessment* Legislation

The largest category of accountability statutes provides for statewide testing or assessment of student performance in order to evaluate the adequacy, efficiency, and quality of education. This legislation differs somewhat from state to state and is open in varying degrees to interpretation by implementing agencies. It affects major dimensions of accountability: the establishment of goals, objectives, and priorities; the evaluation of progress towards achievement of designated priority objectives; how evaluation is to be used to guide decision-making; and the involvement of various publics in decisions about priorities, evaluation, and its uses. In short, the legislation suggests who is to be accountable to whom, for what, and by what means.

Table 2.5 details the range of questions posed in analyzing statewide testing/assessment legislation and supplementary information.[2] It is not, of course, claimed that the legislation and supplementary information are sufficient to furnish full answers to such questions. But the analyses of answers to these questions do reveal particular characteristics of current state activities that will strongly affect public policies for education.

Objectives, Limitations and Outline of the Ensuing Discussion

Objectives

The objectives of the following analysis and discussion are (1) to highlight major characteristics of contemporary legislation dealing with statewide testing and assessment of student performance;

* 'Assessment,' 'evaluation,' and 'testing' are associated in much of the legislation. While 'assessment' may be considered the broader term, it is noted that in practice achievement testing is the major or the only evaluation instrument used in many assessment programs. In Part IV, below, definitional distinctions of the terms are presented for purposes of analyzing components of the policy-planning process.

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TABLE 2.5

QUESTIONS POSED IN ANALYZING STATEWIDE TESTING / ASSESSMENT LEGISLATION AND RELATED DOCUMENTATION

	Focus	Questions
Purposes	Purposes and Intentions	–What are the stated purposes/intentions of the legislation? What is the rationale for requiring testing/assessment?
Goals ⟶ Objectives	Requirements/ Objectives	–What is the specific mandate/requirement legislated to translate the intentions? Where general goals are stated, are specific operational objectives left open/prescribed? If they are set forth, what are they?
	Targets of Evaluation	–What is evaluated, in what target groups, and by what means? What is to be tested? Left open/specified? What domains: cognitive, non-cognitive. . .? Limited topics or comprehensive testing? –What is the target population? All/some districts? All/some schools? All/some grades? Nature of sampling?
Evaluation Information and Uses	Means of Evaluation	–What kinds of tests are to be used? Specified/unspecified? Norm-referenced/criterion-referenced? Verbal/written/ behavior-related? National Assessment-related?
	Information Generated	–What information is generated? Test score data? In what form? (district/school/class/teacher/student-related?) –What non-test information is generated? In what form? What other variables are required by law? Collected in practice?
	Information analysis and interpretation	–Who collects? analyzes? interprets the information? Specified/not specified in statute? What happens in practice?
	Information dissemination and use	–Who has access to the information? In what form? Under law? In practice? –Who is expected to use the data? For what decision-making purposes? Are these specified by law? Implied?
Participation and Response	Participants in legislative and legislated processes	–Who gets involved, at what level, in the process of initiating legislation? in evaluation-related activities? in decisions on the kinds of questions raised above? –Where do funds come from for the specified activities? How "tied" are the funds? How continuous?
	Responses and Problems	–What has been the response/reaction of various interest groups to programs and outcomes? Are there specific indicators of response? –What problems and issues pertinent to educational policy can be identified?

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May 1973

and (2) to identify related problems and issues of consequence for educational policy-planning.

Limitations

The limits of these objectives are worth noting. First, the analysis deals with specific legislation; it is not an analysis of other accountability activities in the states. Second, the identification and discussion of problems pertinent to educational policy in the remainder of the paper should not be viewed as policy analysis. Some elaboration of these limits may be helpful.

Accountability and Legislation. It cannot be assumed that there is no accountability activity in states without accountability legislation. Information about such activities is important. It would help us to understand whether and how effective policies for accountability can be created without legislation. Such information might increase our understanding of alternative responses to demands for accountability in education. That agenda, however, lies beyond the objectives of this paper.

Legislation and Interpretation. Any full treatment of accountability activities would also examine the interpretive role of agencies implementing legislation. The effects of legislation will differ depending on who gets involved in the translation of legislation into practice, on what grounds, at what level, and in what dimensions. These questions, however, cannot be answered within the limits of information analyzed in this paper. A focus upon legislation is instructive, but it will not capture meanings attached to mandates when they are implemented. For example, the short, broad mandate of the 1965 Willis-Harrington Act in Massachusetts requires the Commissioner of Education "to assess the conditions and efficiency of public and other schools throughout the Commonwealth." This mandate has been interpreted by the Massachusetts State Board of Education in a way that emphasizes the development, with community participation, of state and local goals for education, together with a design for assessment and evaluation that requires eventual identification of performance objectives to measure pupil

achievement. This interpretation encompasses the major elements attributed to comprehensive accountability and assessment plans:[3] attention to goals, to priorities, to performance objectives, and to community involvement.

Policy Analysis and Pre-Policy Analysis. The following discussion is limited in another way. It does not undertake analysis of alternative policies. There is no intent to array the problems in any priority order, or to assess which could or should be amenable to policy intervention, or to analyze policy alternatives related to any single problem. On the other hand, this paper does lay some of the necessary base for those activities.

Outline of Parts II, III, IV

Part II, Patterns in Statewide Testing Legislation, examines dimensions of accountability by analyzing the legislation to show patterns in purposes and intentions, in administration and participation, in collection and management of evaluation information, and in the uses of that information in decision-making.

Parts III and IV move beyond the legislation to examine problems and processes. Part III, From Evaluation to Decision-Making, identifies, illustrates, and discusses problems in utilizing test-related data in decision-making.

Part IV, The Policy-Planning Process, is exploratory. It discusses some dimensions of emerging policy-planning processes in relation to the span of action and inquiry of agencies implementing accountability legislation, and the range of actors involved in the process.

Policy Relevance

Contemporary legislation for statewide testing and assessment in the states is important to educational policy-makers at all levels of government because it both translates and conditions public policies for social justice in and through education--equal educational opportunity. Those policies have two major, interdependent dimensions: determining and assessing the nature of the desired opportunity--the quality of educational experience and outcomes sought for all students; and determining the patterns in educational finance and expenditures which will maximize the chances of all students achieving that quality of educational experience and outcomes. The second, which requires designing policies for marshalling and allocating public resources, has no meaning without the first, which defines the purposes or ends to be served by fiscal management. The legislation analyzed and discussed in this paper deals with those purposes. It is creating legal structures in which to ask and answer the questions: equal opportunity for what educational experience and achievement? and how shall these be evaluated? Therein lies its policy relevance.

PART TWO

PATTERNS IN STATEWIDE TESTING/ASSESSMENT LEGISLATION

An Analysis

This examination of statewide testing/assessment legislation identifies, documents and analyzes major patterns across states as reflected in A) stated Purposes and Intentions, and in provisions for B) Administration and Participation, C) Information Collection and Handling, and D) the Uses of Evaluation Information.*

A. Patterns in Purposes and Intentions

Efficiency and Effectiveness

All of the legislation examined requires some form of evaluation of student performance. Either in rather general terms or in varying degrees of specificity the legislation deals with what is to be evaluated, at what level, with what target groups, when, and how. But--evaluation for what purposes?

Testing in education is no new phenomenon. Many states have a long history of sponsoring testing programs. Prior to the legislation examined here, however, most testing programs were intended primarily for the guidance of students.[4] Contemporary accountability legislation emphasizes a different primary function for testing programs: furnishing information for state-level decisions about the "adequacy,"

* The findings of the analysis are summarized in a series of tables interspersed with the text and are recapitulated on pages 102-104, below. Illustrative material is generally indented.

"efficiency," "effectiveness," and "accountability" of public schooling systems.

The most frequently mentioned purposes for legislating statewide testing procedures are of this order:

- to measure objectively the adequacy and efficiency of educational programs
- to evaluate the effectiveness of public schools
- to analyze costs and differential effectiveness of educational programs.

Thus a primary intent of recent legislation is to assess performance outcomes of schooling statewide in relation to the public resources going into education. The information generated by evaluation procedures is intended to serve the purpose of informing the public or its representatives of what has been achieved in return for expenditures of their tax dollars. It is in this sense that the statutes are concerned with accounting and accountability. The information is also intended to feed into a management information pool as a resource for decision-making affecting the future of education.

What kinds of decisions are to be taken on the basis of the evaluation information? Some statutes suggest that evaluation is to furnish a basis for allocating state funds to improve the schooling system, to increase performance levels, to raise the quality of education and the life chances of students. But--how are we to translate "quality of education" for evaluation and decision-making purposes? To begin to answer such questions we need information about goals and objectives and priorities among them.

Goals and Objectives

In all the statutes examined the statements of legislative purposes include concern for efficiency and effectiveness in education. Two patterns are distinguishable. In some cases goals and objectives are "given." In others they are to be generated under the legislation. These patterns are referred to as Pattern A and Pattern B in

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TABLE 2.6

PATTERNS IN STATEWIDE TESTING / ASSESSMENT LEGISLATION
PURPOSES AND INTENTIONS

Pattern A: Efficiency and Effectiveness

ARIZONA 1972	"develop, establish, and direct the implementation of a continuous uniform evaluation system of pupil achievements in relation to measurable performance objectives in basic subjects." (Ch. 168, S.B. 1294, 24).
CALIFORNIA 1972	"to determine the effectiveness of school districts and schools in assisting pupils to master the fundamental educational skills toward which instruction is directed . . . so that the legislature and individual school districts may allocate educational resources in a manner to assure the maximum educational opportunity for all pupils . . . " (Sn 12821, 1972 -- repealing 1969 version)
CONNECTICUT 1971	"to develop an evaluation and assessment procedure designed to measure objectively the adequacy and efficiency of the educational programs offered by the public schools" (P.A. 665, S.1).
MASSACHUSETTS 1965	Requests the Commissioner of Education to assess the conditions and efficiency of public and other schools in the Commonwealth.
NEBRASKA 1969	Requires the Department of Education to "institute a statewide system of testing to determine the degree of achievement and accomplishment of all the students within the state's school systems, if it determines that such testing would be advisable." (B. 959, 6 (d))
PENNSYLVANIA 1963	"Develop an evaluation procedure designed to measure objectively the adequacy and efficiency of the educational programs offered by the public schools of the Commonwealth." (1963 Act, S. 290.1).
WISCONSIN 1971	"Develop an educational assessment program to measure objectively the adequacy and efficiency of educational programs offered by public schools in this state." (Ch. 125, Laws of 1971, S. 443.115.28 (10)).
[NEW JERSEY] 1971	[BILL DID NOT PASS. Bill required the Commissioner to "inquire into and ascertain the thoroughness and efficiency of operation of the schools of the public school system of the State" (A.B. 822)].

A22022-U

TABLE 2.6 continued

Pattern B: Efficiency and Effectiveness with Search for Goals and Objectives

COLORADO 1971	"Institute an accountability program to define and measure quality in education, and thus to help the public schools of Colorado to achieve such quality and to expand the life opportunities and options of students of this state; further, to provide to local school boards assistance in helping their school patrons to determine the relative value of their school program compared to its cost". The program developed is "to measure adequacy and efficiency of the educational programs . . . begin by developing broad goals and specific performance objectives" (Article 41, 123–41–2)
FLORIDA 1968 1971	"[illegible] the establishment of educational accountability in the education system of Florida; to assure that education programs operated in the public schools of Florida lead to the attainment of established objectives for education; to provide information for accurate analysis of the costs associated with public education programs; and to provide information for an analysis of the costs and the differential effectiveness of instructional programs." (H.B. 894, S.2). Assessment is in the context of the 1968 legislation for Educational Renewal (S. 229.551): a process whereby goals and objectives of education are continuously modified . . .
MICHIGAN 1970	Requires a program to "establish meaningful achievement goals in the basic skills . . . provide the state with the information needed to allocate state funds and professional services in a manner best calculated to equalize educational opportunities for students to achieve competence in such basic skills . . . Develop a system for educational self–renewal that would continuously evaluate the programs . . . " (EHB 3886, S.1).
MARYLAND 1972	"To provide for the establishment of educational accountability in the public education system of Maryland, to assure that educational programs operated in the public schools of Maryland lead to the attainment of established objectives for education, to provide information for accurate analysis of the costs associated with public education programs, and to provide information for an analysis of the differential effectiveness of instructional programs . . . " Requires the State Board of Education to assist local school boards and school systems "in developing and implementing educational goals and objectives for subject areas . . . " Each school is to establish "project goals and objectives" in line with those of Local and State Boards. (SB. 166).
RHODE ISLAND 1969	Requires the Board of Regents for education to establish " a master plan defining broad goals and objectives for all levels of education in the state: elementary, secondary and higher."

Source: Derived from texts of statutes and bills recorded in the Cooperative Accountability Project to April 1973. Emphases added.

Webster/EPRC
May 1973

Table 2.6 which presents several statements of legislative intent and illustrates similarities and varieties in purposes and in the language that expresses them.

Pattern A statutes require evaluation of objectives without referring to processes or mechanisms for determining goals and objectives. The legislation, by itself, in Pattern A is insufficient to suggest how goals are generated, priorities determined, and the translation is made to operational objectives.

Pattern B statutes specify or imply a process wherein goals and objectives are examined as an integral part of planning and evaluation--of which testing is a component. Thus:

- MICHIGAN requires assessment in education including the establishment of meaningful goals and objectives
- MARYLAND requires that local school boards develop and implement educational goals and objectives
- COLORADO directs the State Board of Education to provide a procedure for the continuous examination and improvement of goals for education
- FLORIDA requires establishment of statewide objectives for education. The Florida strategy for Educational Renewal requires a process whereby goals and objectives of education are continually modified to meet changing needs of clients.

Performance Objectives and Testing Priorities

Which outcomes of schooling are accorded priority in any given state or community? None of the statutes specifically requires or refers to priority ranking of goals and derived objectives. However, some insights into priorities can be derived from examining the targets of mandatory statewide testing.

Table 2.7 identifies testing targets specified in the statutes. Some states have enacted legislation which would, in principle, permit but not require testing of any dimensions of activities in education (e.g., Nebraska); others mandate testing in limited, prescribed areas (e.g., Arizona); others specify a wide range of testing targets (e.g.,

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TABLE 2.7

PATTERNS IN STATEWIDE TESTING / ASSESSMENT LEGISLATION
SPECIFICATION OF MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS

State and date of statute	Dimensions Tested		Target Groups (grades)
	RRR	Content Areas	
California, 1972 +	S	S + O	all
Florida, 1970 + 71	S	S + O	all
Pennsylvania, 1963	S	S + O	all
Michigan, 1970	S	O	4 + 7
Wisconsin, 1971	S	O	"several"
Maryland, 1972	S	O	X
Arizona, 1969 + 72	S	–	3
Rhode Island, 1963 + 69*	*	*	el. + secy.
Virginia, 1972*	*	*	implies all
Colorado, 1971	X	X	X
Nebraska, 1969	X	X	X
Connecticut, 1971	X	X	X
Massachusetts, 1965	X	X	X

Notes: RRR = reading, writing, computational skills

S = specified in statute; O = explicitly left open

X = implicitly left open

* Rhode Island requires uniform aptitude and intelligence testing

* Virginia requires teachers to provide varying learning experiences and different achievement standards according to individual differences in abilities and / or past achievement.

Source: Derived from examination of legislation reported by the Cooperative Accountability Project in 1972 and April 1973.

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May 1973

California); still others require testing in a limited domain and permit it at the discretion of the implementing agency beyond that domain (e.g., Maryland).

When testing targets are specified, the heaviest emphasis falls upon reading, writing and computation. Beyond the traditional "three Rs" reference is made to "content" or "subject" areas. This priority to cognitive skills in testing programs is confirmed in the ETS survey of State Educational Assessment Programs:

> The content of most current state testing programs--whether mandated or unmandated by legislative bodies--is often less surprising than it is significant. The states engaged in some form of assessment-by-testing are mainly concerned with how well their educational systems are succeeding in imparting basic skills.[5]

In practice, a few states are seeking to assess some dimensions of non-cognitive development* and several statutes allow considerable flexibility of interpretation. However, there is a wide gap between the highly generalized and idealized sets of "goals for education" generated in several states and the specific elements of performance subjected to statewide evaluation in practice. *Both contemporary statutory prescriptions and information on implemented testing programs indicate strongly that "quality of education" is primarily assessed by measuring performance in "basic" cognitive skills.*

B. Patterns and Trends in Administration and Participation

The Testing Legislation

Table 2.8 focuses on statutory provisions affecting control and responsibility for evaluation programs, and participation by various publics in interpreting and implementing the legislation.

In all the statutes there is a clear emphasis on the state education agency as the locus of control and responsibility for implementing

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* See pages 86-89, below.

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TABLE 2.8

PATTERNS IN STATEWIDE TESTING / ASSESSMENT LEGISLATION ADMINISTRATION AND PARTICIPATION

State	Control by State Board / Department	Technical Assistance SEA → LEA	Local program / control specified	*Advisory groups / participation required	Contracting services authorized
Colorado, 1971	X	X	X	X	
Maryland, 1972	X	X	X		
Virginia, 1972	X	X	X	[X]	
Arizona, 1969 + 72	X	X			X
Michigan, 1970	X	X			X
California, 1972 +	X	X			
Massachusetts, 1965	X			X	
Nebraska, 1969	X			[X]	
Rhode Island, 1963 + 69	X			[X]	
Connecticut, 1971	X				
Florida, 1970 + 71	X				
Pennsylvania, 1963	X				
Wisconsin, 1971	X				

Note: *X = Provision for formal advisory group. [X] = other types of provision for participation. See commentary in text for variations.

Source: Information in statewide testing legislation reported by the Cooperative Accountability Project in 1972 and April 1973.

Webster/EPRC
May 1973

testing/assessment legislation. Even where, as in Colorado and Maryland, there is extensive provision for developing local accountability plans, some control rests with the state agencies. Technical assistance from state to local agencies is required by statutes in six states; advisory groups are mandated in two states; other forms of participation are specified in three more; and contracting services are authorized in two states. In practice, these elements occur more generally than the legislation suggests. Thus, technical assistance of state to local agencies, associated with various accountability-planning-evaluation activities, is an expanding function in many states. Again, agencies implementing testing and assessment programs often have recourse to consultant contracts, particularly in the process of data collection and analysis.

This stark summary gives little sense of the actual nature of the various provisions for local programming and for involvement of participants from outside the state and local education agencies. A few examples will suggest the variations in the substance and language of such provisions.

- MARYLAND requires that "the State Board of Education and the State Superintendent of Schools, each Board of Education and every school system, and every school shall implement a program of educational accountability for the operation and management of the public schools..." (Senate Bill 166 of 1972).

Colorado goes farther--mandating not only local programs but also specifying the composition, tenure, and functions of state and local advisory committees.

- COLORADO's Educational Accountability Act requires the creation of advisory committees at state and local level. At state level the Advisory Committee to the State Board of Education must include 3 members from the House of Representatives, 2 from the Senate, 5 from present/past members of state boards of education, and 7 appointed by the Board--including 3 classroom teachers and 3 public school administrators (123-41-3). The Board of Education of each school district must establish a local accountability program and appoint an advisory accountability committee to make recommendations on that program. Committee members must include at least one parent, one teacher, one school administrator and one taxpayer from the district (123-41-4).

California's statewide testing legislation does not specify the creation of special advisory committees, but such groups are required under other statutes or orders:

- CALIFORNIA has a system of advisory bodies created by statute or executive order of the Governor. These include an Educational Management and Evaluation Commission (AB-2800) and a Joint Committee on Educational Goals and Evaluation (appointed in 1970). The latter Committee initiated a process of developing goals and objectives in 1972 by contacting large numbers of citizens for their views. The Committee prepared a three-volume guide to assist local groups in the process.

Statutes in several other states incorporate participation provisions other than the mandatory establishment of formal Advisory Committees. Thus, Nebraska and Rhode Island require advisory consultation.

- In RHODE ISLAND there is a requirement that the Board of Regents for Education "shall communicate with and seek the advice of those concerned with and affected by its determinations as a regular procedure in arriving at its conclusions and in setting its policy." (Ch.49, S.16(3), 1969).

- NEBRASKA requires that the State Board of Education "provide for consultation with professional educators and lay leaders for the purpose of securing advice deemed necessary in the formulation of policies and in the effectual discharge of its duties." (Bill No. 959, May 1969).

In Virginia, the 1972 Act to Revise Standards of Quality and Specify Objectives for School Boards incorporates several provisions for the involvement of community, principals, staff, and students in various aspects of school and classroom planning and management:

- VIRGINIA requires that in each school "the principal shall involve the community and his staff in the preparation and implementation of an annual school plan..." and that "the principal and his staff shall provide for the cooperative evaluation of the teachers and other employees." The prescribed duties of teachers require that they "involve pupils in planning and conducting class activities..." and "help each pupil to develop the ability to evaluate his own progress and involve him in the evaluation process." (H 845, 1972, S.1-a,h; S.2-e,f).

All three of the last mentioned states (Rhode Island, Nebraska, Virginia) have adopted goals for education that were generated in each case by a process involving participation by the State Education Agency, the legislature and a wide range of citizens throughout the state.

The Trend to Provision for Broad Participation

Beyond statewide testing/assessment legislation, there is evidence in other types of accountability legislation and in practice of a trend towards provision for participation of publics outside officially designated education agencies.

Accountability statutes dealing with system management and evaluation of professional employees in some states require public participation. Thus, the statutes prescribing the requirements for non-mandatory PPBS in California (1967 and 1971) and Illinois (1972) entail public involvement. South Dakota's Teachers Professional Practices Act (1969, 1970, 1971) requires the creation of a Professional Practices Commission with representation of teachers, board members and school administrators.

Here, as in other dimensions of legislation examined, it is important to keep in mind that the absence of statutory requirements does not mean absence of any designated feature in practice--particularly where enactments give broad scope for interpretation. Implementing agencies in several states are utilizing a range of practices to involve communities and the general citizenry, particularly in generating goals and objectives. The "Our Schools" program in New Jersey, and the regional citizens' advisory councils, public hearings and conferences utilized in Illinois are examples.[6] Local community participation is a significant feature of PPBS variants which emphasize local goals and objectives--a feature that merits monitoring as system management statutes and practices proliferate.

New Mexico provides an interesting example of statutory specification of citizen participation. Statewide testing or school evaluation is not mandated in New Mexico--probably because "public

school officials have indicated that there are no funds to conduct a comprehensive evaluation of our public schools." However, a 1971 Senate Memorial gives detailed guidelines for broad participation in District Educational Evaluation Committees:

> - NEW MEXICO's Senate, considering "that concerned citizens, parents and teachers in each community are the ones who can best analyze the performance, effectiveness and needs of local schools..." requests the State Board of Education to organize district Evaluation Committees comprising 10 members--no more than 2 teachers and the remainder parents or concerned citizens residing in the district who do not hold positions of responsibility in the public school system. The duties of the Committees include organizing public meetings on school issues, broad consultations on directions for education, preparation of objectives, and recommendations for implementation. (Senate Memorial, 1971).

The Memorial does not have the force of a statutory mandate, but several school districts in New Mexico have already begun local evaluation of the type described.

The accountability statutes for Connecticut include one for experimental programs of innovation. The statute requires community participation:

> - CONNECTICUT requires school districts seeking to develop innovative educational programs to submit plans incorporating several features, one of which is provision for "direct participation by members of communities and students to be served by such experimental educational projects, in planning, policy-making and service functions affecting such projects." (Public Act No. 430, June 1971).

Finally, it is noted that federal requirements and guidelines for ESEA programs incorporate provisions for community participation that have stimulated or supported new patterns of involvement in many states. Under Title I of ESEA, for example, USOE guidelines require establishment of Parent Advisory Councils for compensatory education programs. Their effectiveness varies from negligible, through neutral, to highly organized and influential. In New Jersey, for example, they have been termed "very active" and a "spectacular

success," with dramatic improvement in reading skills of Title I pupils attributed to increased involvement of parents. Both national and state coalitions of "poverty parents" have developed and there are statewide Parent Advisory Councils in at least ten states (circa March 1973). The USOE guidelines for councils confer no special power, but parents define meaningful involvement as "the planning, development, operation and evaluation of programs which affect their children."[7]

Thus, *the patterns of involvement identifiable in statewide assessment statutes reflect and support a trend towards legitimating wide participation in accountability programs.*

C. Patterns and Trends: Information Collection and Handling

The Collection of Information

Demands for accountability incorporate pressures to generate more and "better" information about schools and programs to guide decision-making. The legislation examined suggests variations in the extent to which states mandate, regulate, or permit information collection, processing, interpretation and dissemination. Evidence of information assembled and processed in practice is furnished in the ETS survey of state assessment programs and in documents from individual states.

Information collected may be grouped in three categories: assessments of cognitive development, assessments of non-cognitive development, and "related data" on variables thought to be associated with scholastic achievement.

Information on Cognitive Development. The primary data assembled derive from testing procedures which furnish achievement scores primarily for basic skills and to some extent for content areas. Table 2.7, above, noted the extent to which these are specified in legislation. Table 2.9, below, derived from descriptions of implemented

A22029-U

TABLE 2.9

TARGET AREAS OF EVALUATION IN STATEWIDE TESTING / ASSESSMENT PROGRAMS
Thirteen States – Circa 1971 – 1973

Other	Work / Study Skills	Social Studies	Natural Sciences	Aptitude / Mental Ability	Computation / Mathematics	Reading	English / Language / Writing	State	Attitudes to School / Achievement	Self Concept / Esteem	Other
			X			X		Connecticut			
					X	X	X	Arizona			
	X				X	X	X	Maryland			
				X	X	X		Rhode Island			
X				X	X	X	X	California			
	X			X	X	X	X	Massachusetts			
		X	X	X	X	X	X	Florida			
X		X	X	X	X	X	X	Colorado	X	X	X
X				X	X	X		Wisconsin	X		X
X	X	X	X		X	X	X	Virginia	X	X	
			X		X	X	X	Michigan	X	X	
					X	X		Nebraska	X	X	
					X	X		Pennsylvania	X	X	X
4	3	3	4	6	12	13	8		6	5	3
Cognitive Domain									Non-cognitive		

Source Derived from a survey of state assessment programs by the Education Testing Service and others, 1971, supplemented by updated information for individual states.

Webster/EPRC
May 1973

statewide assessment programs, confirms a heavy emphasis on cognitive learning and within that domain upon reading and computational (sometimes mathematics) skills.

Information on Non-cognitive Development. Most of the statutes examined emphasize cognitive skills, but many are capable of broader interpretation. In practice, some states also collect information based on tests and inventories of non-cognitive development. Six states from the legislation sub-set do so. They suggest that initial emphasis in non-cognitive assessment is upon self-concept and upon attitudes to school and to scholastic achievement (see Table 2.9). Assessment programs in Pennsylvania, Colorado and Virginia may be precursors of a trend towards measurement beyond these areas:

- PENNSYLVANIA. The Educational Quality Assessment Program in Pennsylvania (initiated in 1963, with first statewide testing in 1970) includes evaluation of self-esteem, understanding others, attitude to schooling, creativity, appreciation of human accomplishments, and readiness for change.

- COLORADO. The Colorado Statewide Learner Needs Assessment Program includes evaluation of attitudes to school and to citizenship, self concept, and personal values in (current learning in) social sciences.

- VIRGINIA. The Virginia Educational Needs Assessment Study (involving a 10% sample of students in grades 4, 7, and 11) included evaluation of the affective domain in Phase I (attitudes, interests, competencies in school and classroom settings, feelings of worth in interpersonal relationships) and focused on the psycho-motor domain in Phase II (1971-72).

There is a trend to increased interest in assessing non-cognitive areas. Implemented assessments are not widespread, but the reason may be less that states or local districts are uninterested in testing non-cognitive dimensions than the present underdeveloped state of the art of measurement. Experience in Michigan suggests instrumentation difficulties:

- MICHIGAN's Educational Assessment Program (first assessment 1969, fifth scheduled for Fall 1973) required measurement of self-concept and attitudes

A22028-U

TABLE 2.10

INFORMATION "RELATED" TO STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT
COLLECTED UNDER STATE TESTING / ASSESSMENT PROGRAMS

State	Legislation	Practice*	
		Input Variables	Process Variables
California	M & EP	X	
Michigan	M & EP	X	
Rhode Island	IP	X	
Virginia	IP	X	
Arizona	n	X	X
Pennsylvania	n	X	X
Colorado	n	X	
Florida	n	X	
Wisconsin	n	X	
Connecticut	n	+	
Massachusetts	n	+	
Nebraska	n	+	
Maryland	n		

Notes: M = mandated
EP = explicitly permitted
IP = implicitly permitted

X = several variables
+ = very few variables
n = not mentioned

* = accurate within the limits of available documentation

Source: Derived from information in statutes recorded by the Cooperative Accountability Project, 1972 – 73, from an ETS survey of state assessment programs, 1971, and from supplementary information for some individual states.

Webster/EPRC
May 1973

to school and to scholastic achievement in the first two assessments. These elements were excluded from ensuing programs because the testing instrument was judged defective. A new instrument will be available for the Fifth Assessment, but testing of attitudes will be optional.

Information on Variables Related to Achievement. In order to "account" for the quality of student performance, many states seek to collect information on variables thought to be related to scholastic achievement. Table 2.10 indicates the extent to which collection of "related data" is specified or permitted by statute and the nature of "related data" collected in practice. Several patterns of legislation are apparent.

Sometimes collection of related data is mandated by statute. For example:

- CALIFORNIA's Education Code requires reports on results of testing programs to include "an analysis of the operational factors that appear to have a significant relationship to or bearing on the results" including "but not limited to" demographic, financial, pupil and parent, and instructional and staff characteristics, and specially funded programs. (Ed. Code Section 12848 as amended by AB 665, 1972. The 1969 formulation of the Section was more specifically prescriptive.)

Sometimes the statute does not specify the nature of related information to be assembled but explicitly permits its collection. For example:

- MICHIGAN. The 1970 Michigan statute explicitly permits collection and utilization of other relevant information essential to the mandated assessment program. In practice, this allows assembly of information on school resources (human, financial, programmatic, facilities), on socio-economic status (based on anonymous responses of students)* and on district drop-out rates (derived from annual Department of Education studies).

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* In fact, socio-economic status data have not been collected in Michigan's assessment program since 1971 and will not be collected in the Fifth Assessment scheduled for Fall 1973.

Sometimes the accountability legislation neither permits nor precludes the collection of related data, but in practice there is broad collection of non-test-score data. Arizona and Pennsylvania furnish examples. Arizona illustrates the case where the mandated focus of assessment appears to be narrowly circumscribed, but where in practice there is a major effort to achieve some depth of information related to performance in the prescribed area.

- ARIZONA. The 1969 Arizona statute mandating an annual standardized reading test for grade three pupils does not mention related data. However, the program implemented in early 1971 in response to the mandate involved collecting data on 21 variables, with 3-10 assessment levels for each variable. Categories of information pertain to: students (5 variables, including ethnic information, language spoken at home, socio-economic status); instructional programs (3 variables, including the nature of the primary mode of teaching); teachers (3 variables on experience and formal education); classroom climate; school buildings, facilities, and services. Information collected in the initial run of the program and found not to be related to mean achievement differences was to be removed from future annual testing data categories.

Pennsylvania's Educational Quality Assessment Program (EQA) derives its mandate from a 1963 statute which does not specify collection of "related data." EQA activities, initiated in 1967 to carry out statutory directives, incorporate major data collection and analysis of "educational correlates."

- PENNSYLVANIA. EQA Phase II involved collecting data from students (on background, community, availability of school resources), from teachers (responding to a 76-item questionnaire designed to measure areas including job satisfaction, career aspirations and innovativeness in the classroom), and from school administrators (on school programs and community). Supplemental data were obtained from the Department of Education (e.g., teacher sex, age, experience, education, salary; district financial data).

  From these raw data analysts derived indicators of: (a) school and community characteristics (6 variables on program resources, 3 on financial resources, 6 on demographic characteristics); (b) instructional staff

characteristics (6 on teacher background, 5 demographic, 6 on attitudes); (c) student indices (6 on background, 5 attitudinal, 4 demographic).

The Pennsylvania program is not typical, either in the amount or the kinds of "related data" collected, of state assessment programs generally or of the sub-set analyzed. Some of the states examined collect "related data" on many variables (e.g., Colorado, California), some on very few (e.g., Nebraska and Connecticut). The most commonly collected data pertain to student background and to schools. Within those categories the information sought is largely demographic (sex and age of students; name and size of schools) and on socio-economic background. Six of the states collect data on teachers, with emphasis on demographic variables (sex, age, formal education, salaries) rather than behavioral/performance indicators. Information on program cost--a fundamental datum for purposes of accountability analysis--was specified in descriptions of only four programs in the set. There is a dearth of information on process variables, instructional styles and programs.

General findings on information collected in statewide testing/assessment programs generated under accountability legislation are thus: *(1) All states collect "output" information in the form of test scores. Most emphasize limited dimensions of cognitive learning but there are indicators of a trend to broaden the range of learning assessed. (2) Nearly all states collect "related data" which, in practice, are almost entirely "input" information emphasizing student, teacher, and school demography and the socio-economic background of students. (3) Very few states collect "process" information via indicators of variables in teaching/learning styles and classroom behaviors and practices.*

Analysis and Interpretation of Information

What happens to test data and related information once they have been collected? Who analyzes and interprets the data for whom? Here again, there are variations among states.

- *Processing external, interpretation external.* Both largely in the hands of professional testmakers/evaluators outside state/local education agencies. Example: COLORADO Evaluation Project, May 1970 pilot run--Instruments were developed and results processed and interpreted by Pacific Educational Evaluation Systems (PEES), California.

- *Processing external, interpretation internal/external.* In this pattern interpretation is done with more or less collaboration between external agencies and state/local education agencies. Example: MICHIGAN Educational Assessment--processing done by the Educational Testing Service, New Jersey; interpretation by Michigan SEA with the assistance of ETS.*

- *Processing external, interpretation internal.* Example: ARIZONA Statewide Reading Testing Program--Measurement Research Center (MRC), Iowa City, scored tests and taped raw and derived scores and related data; the tapes were interpreted by Arizona SEA.

- *Processing and interpretation internal.* Example: CALIFORNIA Statewide Testing Program--Local districts score, summarize and report testing results on SEA-designed forms. The SEA is responsible for statewide analysis and interpretation of program data.

Clearly, there is considerable leeway in implementing legislated testing/assessment programs. This is reflected in variations in the extent to which data collection, processing, and interpretation are contracted out, performed by the state education agency, or diffused among local agencies. Few statutes specifically mention such arrangements, but practice may often involve recourse to specialized consulting services. The interpretation function is particularly sensitive.**

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* Michigan changed its contractor to MRC in 1973.

** See discussion below, page 107 ff.

It relates processing and analysis, where the statutes are not prescriptive, to dissemination, where they are.

Dissemination of Information

Who gets the information in what form? Here again there are variations among states. Table 2.11 summarizes the specific statutory provisions on these matters.

A common pattern of formal reporting is for the State Department of Education to transmit the results of testing/assessment to the State Board of Education. The Board then makes recommendations to the Legislature. There are varying provisions with regard to dissemination of results to local school districts, individual schools, and "the public." Local districts usually must report local data to their state boards or departments. And state agencies typically report data and analysis to local district administrators. Several states distribute copies of formal reports to teacher organizations, and many utilize newspapers or other communications media to release program results to "the public."

The nature of information reported to any group or individual is a matter of some sensitivity. In some states, the forms in which information may be reported are neither prescribed nor proscribed by law; in others they are. Florida and California offer examples of specific statutory provisions:

- In FLORIDA, the 1971 Educational Accountability Act requires the commissioner of education to make an annual public report of assessment results including, "but not limited to" results by grade and subject area for each school district and the state, together with analysis and recommendations concerning the costs and differential effectiveness of instructional programs. By 1973-74 school boards in each district must make annual public reports of this type.

- CALIFORNIA's Education Code includes prolific provisions for testing, including the nature of required reporting. District-wide results of mandatory testing, but not the score or relative position of individual pupils, must be reported at least annually to the governing board of each district. The district board

A22026-U

TABLE 2.11

PATTERNS IN STATEWIDE TESTING / ASSESSMENT LEGISLATION
REPORTING PROVISIONS

State and Date of Statute	To public / citizens	To Legislature	To State Boards / * Departments	To Local Districts / boards / schools	Reporting procedures and proscriptions specified
California, 1972	X	X	X	X	X
Florida, 1970 + 71	X	X	X	X	X
Colorado, 1971	X	X	X	X	
Arizona, 1969 + 72	X	X		X	X
Michigan, 1970	X	X		X	
Nebraska, 1969	X		X	X	
Maryland, 1972	X	X			X
Connecticut, 1969		X			
Rhode Island, 1963		X			
Pennsylvania, 1963				X	
Massachusetts, 1965					
Virginia, 1972					
Wisconsin, 1971					
Frequency	7	8	4* [13]	7	4

Note: *State Boards / Department of Education generally have administrative control of the implementing of statutes (See Table VIII).

Source: Texts of legislation reported through the Cooperative Accountability Project in 1972 and April, 1973.

Marlaine EPRC
May 1973

must report school-by-school results of tests to the Department of Education. (AB.665, Ed. Code 12826, amended). The Department of Education must make annual reports to the Legislature, to the State Board of Education and to each school district in the state, giving district-by-district analysis of testing results, including analysis of "operational factors that appear to have significant relationship to or bearing on the results." (Ed. Code 12848 as amended by AB.665, 1971).

In states where there is no detailed statutory prescription for reporting, in practice the implementing agencies establish procedures and guidelines. Massachusetts and Rhode Island provide illustrations:

- MASSACHUSETTS. Under the Massachusetts Design for Assessment (initiated in 1970 with first assessment in 1971), the State Education Agency has distributed state summaries of program results to the State Board of Education and to school districts. This statewide reporting did not identify individual districts or schools. Mechanisms were provided to allow individual districts, schools, and teachers to examine results on an individualized basis.

- RHODE ISLAND. Reports from the Rhode Island Statewide Testing Program are distributed by the State Education Agency to school districts, schools and teacher organizations. Further dissemination is determined locally. While there is a general commitment to public reporting of results, the form and manner in which test scores should be reported is under examination by a study commission appointed by the State Board of Regents.

Where rather small samples are used in assessment programs, there may be deliberate restraint in reporting detailed results. Thus:

- The VIRGINIA Educational Needs Assessment Study in 1970 dealt with only about 10% of the school population in six sampled geographic areas. No reports were prepared for individual schools. The only information disseminated was analyzed by geographic areas and released to the press, so that broad patterns of performance and needs in the state were made public.

A22033-D

TABLE 2.12

TRENDS IN ACCOUNTABILITY REQUIREMENTS INCORPORATING MOUNTING PRESSURES FOR EVALUATION DATA

Trends	Indicators
Mandatory statewide testing / assessment	– Legislation in 13 states; likely in others Most states have some kind of assessment program, including evaluation data
Collection of data "related" to student achievement	– Legislated requirement in 2 states; practised in many states; increasingly associated with account–ability programs
PPBS (planning–programming–budgeting system) or PPBES (. . . –evaluating system)	– Legislation: Statutes in at least 8 states (at least 9 acts since 1970): California (1967, '71) Indiana (1971) Florida (1968, '70, '73) Colorado (1971) Alaska (1970) Illinois (1972) Hawaii (1970) Ohio (1972)
MIS/UAS (Management information / Uniform accounting system)	– Legislation in at least 5 states since 1967: New Mexico (1967) Nebraska (1971) Rhode Island (1969) Arizona (1972) Florida (1970)
Mandatory evaluation of performance of professional employees	– Legislation in at least 8 states (at least 7 acts since 1971): Washington (1969) New Jersey (1971) Florida (1969) Oregon (1971) S. Dakota (1969, '71) Connecticut (1972) California (1969, '71) Virginia (1972)
Competency–based teacher certification	– Florida, New York and Washington have taken a leadership role in state policy on this – Many other states are supportive, including Utah, Texas, Kansas, Nebraska, California, Oregon, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Minnesota
Comprehensive planning in State Departments of Education	– 34 states reported planning units in 1971 survey by Minnesota State Department of Education Established 1966 – 2 1969 – 6 1967 – 3 1970 – 20 1968 – 2

Webster/EPRC
May 1973

Trend Towards Increased Pressure for Data Collection and Handling

We have been considering data generated by statewide testing and assessment programs. If we add to these the information required or permitted under other types of legislation and practice, further aspects of the growth of education data banks in the states are apparent.

Table 2.12 suggests evidence of trends towards requiring evaluation of the performance of professional employees, competency-based teacher certification, program-budgeting and management information systems, and comprehensive planning. Thus we note that *the data collected on student performance feeds only one of many streams flowing into rapidly growing reservoirs of information about education in the states.*

D. Patterns in Legislation: Uses of Evaluation Information

What kinds of decisions are to be made on the basis of the evaluations generated under statewide testing/assessment legislation? Some answers to that question are to be found both in the general expressions of legislative intent and in the sections of statutes that specify reporting requirements.

Table 2.13 summarizes the uses of evaluation information specified in the legislation. Those uses range from application to decisions about particular programs to decisions about the general quality of public education statewide. Thus in ARIZONA test information is to be used to "enhance the quality of the reading program in the public schools," whereas in COLORADO it will contribute to decisions designed "to help the public schools of Colorado to achieve quality and to expand life opportunities and options of the students of the state."

There is specific reference in five statutes to the use of evaluation for diagnosing individual learning problems and for improving

A22027-U

TABLE 2.13

PATTERNS IN STATEWIDE TESTING / ASSESSMENT LEGISLATION
SPECIFIED USES OF EVALUATION INFORMATION IN DECISION–MAKING

Focus and specified uses → / State and date of statute ↓	INDIVIDUALS – diagnosis, improvement of performance	LOCAL / SPECIFIC PROGRAMS improvement, correction, needs assessment	TOTAL SYSTEM – improve quality of education; assess / meet needs; planning	Recommendations to Legislature	Cost–performance analysis	Allocation of resources and "equal ed. opportunity	Other
Nebraska, 1969			X				
Wisconsin, 1971			X				
Massachusetts, 1965			X				
Florida, 1971			X		X		X*
Rhode Island, 1969			X	X			
Connecticut, 1971		X	X				
Maryland, 1972		X	X	X	X		
Pennsylvania, 1963		X	X				
California, 1972	X	X	X	X	X	X	X*
Colorado, 1971	X		X	X	X		
Virginia, 1972	X	X	X				
Michigan, 1970	X	X				X	
Arizona, 1969 + 1972	X	X		X			

Note: *Other uses specified in statutes include "research" in California, and "accreditation" in Florida.

Source: Derived from examination of statutes recorded in the Cooperative Accountability Project to April 1973.

Robert EPRC
May 1973

individual performance. Lack of such reference in other statutes does not imply that concern for individual students is absent. However, *there is an important shift in focus in contemporary legislation which broadens the scope of decision-making to be served by prescribed evaluation. Formerly the most frequently stated use of test data was to aid local decisions about the guidance of individual students. That use remains. But under contemporary legislation, the primary emphasis is upon aiding state-level decisions about "programs" and "the system."*

Other legislated uses of evaluation include planning (Rhode Island), research (California), accreditation of schools (Florida), cost-performance analysis (Colorado and Florida), and allocation of resources (California and Michigan*).

Cost-Performance Analysis. COLORADO and FLORIDA explicitly require analysis of "the costs and differential effectiveness of instructional programs." Maryland requires provision of information for such analysis. This type of requirement, in which data from student testing are related to cost and expenditure data, implies the existence or development of a unified budgetary system; in fact, the requirement is more common in PPBS-related legislation. Thus, it is not surprising that Colorado is developing a program planning, budgeting, and evaluation system (PPBES) for public schools under a 1971 statute (Senate Bill No. 42). And the Florida Department of Education is seeking to meet the stipulation for cost-performance analysis contained in the Accountability Act of 1971 by developing a model for a PPBS at the local district level.

Resource Allocation and the Legislature. The CALIFORNIA Education Code, as amended in 1971, specifies that evaluation information is to be provided as a basis for allocating educational resources. Thus, the results of first grade entry testing are to be used to determine each school district's quota of specialist reading teachers.

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* In Michigan this specified use of test data is in the context of the compensatory aid program.

The formula for allocating specialists by those results is detailed (Ed.Code 5779 and 5782, 1971). This use of testing reflects a more general specification in the Code requiring that the statewide testing program provide evaluative information so that, *inter alia*, "the Legislature and individual school districts may allocate educational resources in a manner to assure the maximum educational opportunity for all pupils." (Ed.Code 12821, amended 1971). California and Michigan have the only statutes examined which explicitly refer to the use of testing information as a basis for resource allocation--although this use can readily be implied for other states. Statutes in five states specify that the implementing agency is to make recommendations to the Legislature in its reporting, and remaining statutes do not preclude this. On the basis of evaluation information, therefore, the agency can make recommendations to guide policy-making (whether by means of legislative or other instruments) affecting the future of education in the state.

Information about implemented state assessment programs confirms an increasing emphasis on using program results (mainly test data) for state-level decisions about resource allocation and for planning purposes.

Proscribed Uses of Test Information

CALIFORNIA, which has the most copious legislation on testing, explicitly proscribes certain uses of evaluation information. The relevant provisions in the Education Code affect the use of test scores in relation to high school graduation, promotion to different grade levels, first grade placement, and cumulative school records in grades one to three:

- Testing legislation is not to be construed to mean "that graduation from a high school or promotion to another grade level is in any way dependent upon successful performance on any test administered as part of the testing program." (Art.1, 12830, 1969).

- Test scores or results are not to be employed to rank school districts in any publication other than necessary for administering the statute (Art.3, 5779, 1965--Miller-Unruh).

- "Scores for individual pupils on the first grade entry level test shall not be used by school districts or teachers for individual diagnosis of placement or as a basis for any other decisions which would affect the pupil's elementary school experience. Scores from this test shall not in any manner be included on the pupil's cumulative school record." (Ed.Code, 5779.2, 1971).

- "The State Board of Education shall determine which, if any, of the scores attained by pupils on the tests administered in grades 2 and 3 may be recorded on the pupil's cumulative school record." (Ed.Code, 5779.2, 1971).

The prescriptions and proscriptions for the use of evaluation data are important. As we shall see in Part III, several problems are likely to be encountered in the sensitive area of utilizing evaluation information in decision-making.

Recapitulation of Patterns in Statewide Testing Legislation

Purposes and Intentions

- *The primary intent of recent legislation is to assess the performance outcomes of schooling statewide in relation to the public resources going into education. The information generated by evaluation procedures is intended to serve the purpose of informing the "public" and/or its representatives of what has been achieved in the way of learning in return for expenditures of their tax dollars. It is in this sense that the statutes are concerned with accounting and accountability. The information is also intended to feed into a management information pool as a resource for decision-making affecting the future of education.*

Goals and Objectives

- *Two principal patterns are distinguishable in testing statutes. Pattern A statutes require evaluation of the achievement of objectives--specified in varying degrees--without referring to processes or mechanisms for determining goals and objectives. Pattern B statutes specify or imply a process wherein goals and objectives are examined as an integral part of ongoing activities of planning and evaluation--of which testing is one component.*

Performance Objectives and Testing Priorities

- *Both statutory prescriptions and available information on implemented testing programs indicate strongly that "quality of education" is assessed primarily by measuring performance in "basic" cognitive skills.*

Administration and Participation

- *There is clear emphasis in all the statutes on the state education agency as the locus of control and responsibility for implementing testing/assessment legislation. Patterns of involvement of people outside the state agency, however, are identifiable in several statutes. These both reflect and support a trend towards*

legitimating and stimulating wide participation in accountability programs.

Information Collection and Handling

- *Information collected under testing/assessment legislation may be considered in three categories: assessments of cognitive development (primarily in basic skills, to some extent in content areas), assessments of non-cognitive development (not mandatory, but assembled in some states), and "related data." Collection of data "related" to achievement is not mandatory in many states, but it is common in practice. The information is almost entirely on "input" rather than "process" variables; very few states collect information pertaining to teaching/learning styles and classroom behaviors and practices.*
- *Processing. While few statutes specify such arrangements, in practice many administering agencies have recourse to specialized consulting services for the design of instruments, data collection and handling.*
- *Reporting. A common pattern for formal reporting of testing/assessment information is for the State Department of Education to transmit the results of evaluation to the State Board of Education which makes recommendations to the Legislature with the general intent of improving the quality of education (as measured by performance levels on tests). Below state level, there are varying provisions for dissemination of results to local education districts, individual schools, and "the public."*
- *Trend to increasing data banks. There is evidence in the states of trends towards requiring evaluation of the performance of professional employees, competency-based teacher certification, planning-programming-budgeting and management information systems, and comprehensive planning. Thus, data collected on student performance under contemporary legislation feeds only one of many streams flowing into rapidly growing reservoirs of information in the states--information to be interpreted and used in decision-making affecting the future of education and its publics.*

- *Uses of information. Formerly, the most frequent use of test data was to aid local decisions about student guidance. That use remains. However, the primary emphasis in contemporary legislation is upon aiding state-level decisions about "needs," "deficiencies," and the general improvement of the "quality of education" statewide. This represents a significant broadening of the scope of decision-making to be served by test data.*

PART THREE

BEYOND THE LEGISLATION: FROM EVALUATION TO DECISION-MAKING

An Examination of Some Problems

Our purpose in this Part of the report is to discuss some of the problems involved in using test information in decisions of educational policy. There is no attempt here to formulate these problems in a way amenable to policy analysis. The discussion does not seek to judge which of them can or should be the target of what kinds of policies at what levels of government. They are problems of consequence, however. They arise in practice and they can be identified and anticipated in the course of policy planning.

The discussion falls into three sections. Section A suggests some problems of State Education Agencies (SEA's) arising from mounting demands for data collection and handling. Section B considers problems associated with fears of various groups about the interpretation and use of evaluation data. Section C abstracts from problems of tests, testers and testing, to consider whether the information engendered under statewide testing legislation is likely to be adequate for intended uses in decision-making.

A. Data Management and SEA Capabilities

Pressures are mounting for more and more information for decision-making purposes. The demand stems not only from statewide testing, but from PPBS and related efficiency-accounting systems, teacher evaluation, performance contracting, and from the trend towards comprehensive planning for education at the state level.

These pressures are likely to place strains upon the already taxed capabilities of many state education agencies. Moreover, these data management demands increase the need to develop and strengthen processes in which continuing attention is paid to the purposes, interpretation, uses, accessibility and dissemination of information.

Consider in brief:

- Outlays for complex computer facilities and for technically trained personnel contribute to already increasing demands upon scarce resources available for education in the states.

- There is evidence of a propensity to purchase technical "expertise" not available within the SEA. This can be a logical and effective solution, but it requires careful examination--especially when it involves hiring outside experts to do goal analysis, needs assessments, and interpretation of sensitive data.

- Some SEA's are experiencing difficulties in recruiting and retaining skilled personnel to support their expanding functions in management, planning, and technical assistance. This is partly a problem of salary structures and the scarcity and vicissitudes of funding. However, it is likely that it will be easier to identify technical needs and to recruit technical experts when hiring new personnel than it will be to identify and recruit or train people who can deal with questions of purposes, policy alternatives and consequences, and the participation of multiple publics.

- Behaviors, attitudes, and views of technical experts may run counter to concerns for grassroots participation. The possible conflict of views should be examined. There may be a propensity to interpret "participation" in the policy-planning process as handling some kind of "dissemination" activity--unless there is deliberate intention, action, and educating to the contrary. Technical assistance as a participatory learning activity for all involved is scarcely a popular interpretation of the function in bureaucracies.

Here, as elsewhere, the intent is not to suggest gloomy scenarios; it is rather to point to some of the challenges presented by the current wave of statewide testing and other accountability legislation. The administration and interpretation of that legislation falls heavily to state education agencies. The implementation of accountability programs will require not just more funds and more staff, but

a re-examination of requisite staff competencies and training.

B. Evaluation and Decisions: Some Fears and Pitfalls

Many of the problems meriting careful examination by those designing and implementing accountability programs pertain to the sensitivity of the evaluation information and the fears of various groups that it may be interpreted and used in ways adversely affecting their interests.

The Sensitivity of Evaluation Data

On the one hand, there is a general societal concern for some transparency in the decision-making process and for public access to information on which policy judgments are based. On the other hand, there is controversy over human privacy vs. mass data banks for planning and research, and over the interpretation and misinterpretation of test data.

There is evidence of mounting concern for the confidentiality and legitimacy of certain types of information supplied by students, teachers, and others. When information is required about personal attitudes, socio-economic background, ethnic origin, and similar matters, questions of invasion of privacy and suggestions of psychological damage can be and have been raised. And, of course, possibilities for invalidating the information by falsifying responses must be considered.

These are not just matters of speculation. There is sufficient evidence associated with testing programs examined to verify that there are real political, ethical, and technical-analytic problems related to the sensitivity of information and its interpretation. In some cases they may seem intractable. Credibility of public education agencies and evaluation experts may be in question. For example, the Educational Testing Service reports in relation to the Michigan Educational Assessment Program that:

- In MICHIGAN some schools refused to return student answer sheets provided in the Assessment Program on the grounds that responses might be used to penalize them because of background or to malign the reputation of their ethnic groups--even though the data were gathered in a manner that guaranteed anonymity of respondents, and even given the announced intent to use the information only for estimating the overall impact of educational programs on each of several target populations.

Further:

- In MICHIGAN legislators wanted comparative data on individual districts from the 1970-71 Assessment Program. Many school officials, however, object to public release of data for individual schools and districts--despite the fact that the Superintendent has ruled they be released.

Test-related data are sensitive not only because they may involve information some people consider private. They are sensitive also because they are susceptible to misinterpretation. Possibilities for drawing invalid inferences from test scores and for making invidious comparisons are real. Hence some states prohibit the release of test scores which would identify individuals or schools, or even rank districts.

Consider the recent debate over dissemination of standardized test scores in New York City and in New Jersey.

- NEW YORK CITY again published results of city-wide reading tests administered to students in 1972, listing performance by school and grade level and giving, for each grade level, a report on the percentage of students falling behind the national norm. Front-page coverage in The New York Times and prominent space in some other newspapers conveyed that 66.3% of elementary school pupils and 71.3% junior high and intermediate school pupils were reading below grade level. The implication was that more than two-thirds of the students were "failing" and were "sub-normal."

Albert Shanker (President of the NYSUT, the largest teacher union in the country), commenting in The New York Times on this publicity, notes that half the students must be below a norm no matter how well they read. Failure to understand this "has resulted in recent years, in odious comparison between schools, and militant attacks upon

teachers and supervisors by parents of children in schools with low reading scores." In many cases fewer than half the children tested in a given grade, school or district in New York City in 1972 were there to be tested in 1973. Given this high mobility of pupils, test scores cannot provide a valid measure of whether students are doing better or worse from year to year on a school-by-school, district-by-district or even city-wide basis. Test scores may reflect prior schooling in other schools, districts, and even in other cities or states.[9]

In such circumstances, it is not surprising to find attempts to block the publication of test scores. Thus:

- In NEW JERSEY the New Jersey Education Association sought to block the dissemination of standardized test scores in the state. They argued that mere publication of standardized test scores might hinder rather than contribute to public understanding. Unless there is sophisticated interpretation, scores become more of a weapon in the political process than an aid in judging the educational process.

The National Assessment of Educational Progress has come under similar attack for reporting test results without interpretation. Thus:

- In late 1972 representatives from 23 large city school districts accused NAEP of "potentially dangerous" methods of reporting assessment results. The Board of Directors of the Council of Great City Schools pointed to two factors which could lead to "capricious and unwarranted interpretation of testing results"--the policy of NAEP to report uninterpreted data, and the use of "subcategories" which may be "too small in size to be representative of the sampled population."[10]

Two Senate resolutions in Hawaii in 1972 take account of the controversy. They reflect both a response to demands for transparency in sharing information and a concern for careful interpretation to accompany the sharing of information. Thus:

- In HAWAII one Senate resolution in 1972 requires revised methods of reporting results of tests and says that "public concern has created the need for widespread comprehensive reporting of the progress and problems of education in the state." A concurrent resolution requires that routine publication

of results be supported by interpretations, explanations and analysis to place test results in perspective and prevent misunderstandings from arising as to their meaning.

Mislabeling and Discrimination: Fears for Students

Test bias and the use of tests for tracking and labeling students have been the subject of increasing public outcry in several states. Minority groups in particular have suffered from misclassification and attendant disadvantages associated with the use of culturally biased tests. The arbitrariness of the labeling decisions made on the basis of tests is illustrated in the case of one state in which it is reported as having been common practice to place in special education classes any child who scored 75 or below in a diagnostic test administered to all children, whereas a score of 76 guaranteed a place in a regular class.

Litigation has been involved in some states. Thus:

- in Boston, MASSACHUSETTS a suit was brought in 1970 charging that the Boston school system and the Massachusetts State Department of Education, through a faulty method of testing and classification, placed large numbers of children into special classes for the mentally retarded. Damages were sought for each of seven children allegedly "irreparably harmed" by the classification system.[11]

- in CALIFORNIA several court decisions and research studies blamed scores on group IQ tests for unfair placement of many black and Chicano students in special classes.[12]

The California State Legislature's concern over these alleged misclassifications led to a law two years ago encouraging the transfer of many students out of special education classes after re-evaluation.

In Colorado a current bill is seeking to improve the quality of the tests used with various cultural groups:

- In COLORADO, HB 1478 asks that tests used in the schools be free from cultural and linguistic bias or separately normed with reference to linguistic and cultural groups to which the child belongs. The State Department of Education is to determine

which tests are free of such bias.[13]

Progress in developing such sensitivity in testing has barely begun, however, and criticism of tests, testers and testing by minority groups is increasingly bitter. At a recent symposium on testing black students, one participant proposed that a "survival quotient" would be a better index of a black child's learning ability than the traditional intelligence quotient. Another urged that the federal government regulate standardized tests as they do drugs to ensure that they would be "safe and effective for their intended use."

Minority groups are launching major efforts to heighten awareness of testing abuses and to develop instruments which will be more sensitive to cultural differences among students. The First National Conference on Testing in Education and Employment was held at Hampton Institute in April 1973. It attracted some 450 participants from education, labor, industry, government, and private and public community organizations. They met to explore the "ways assessment instruments have been used to exert a malevolent influence on the social mobility of minority children, youth, and adults, and also to pinpoint the ways in which testing serves as a prop for those supporting a racist and oppressive system of educational and employment practices."[14] A national project to curb bias in testing was launched with this conference. The project director, Norman R. Dixon, seeks to have the project serve as a bridge between test makers and their critics. He said:

> The central overriding purpose is to improve the quality of American life through making significant changes in standardized testing.[15]

Not long after the Hampton conference, Professor Dixon was to comment on the decision of a U.S. court judge in Georgia as "one of the crassest examples of the misuse of tests in the history of educational testing." The opinion is noteworthy because it involves a decision about school quality, based upon test scores, and requires a desegregation plan from a State Board of Regents to raise quality level.

- GEORGIA. The case in Hunnicut v. Burge. U.S. District Court Judge Wilbur D. Owens has ruled that a black Georgia college is a "diploma mill" on the basis of the test scores of its students. He concluded that its academic inferiority is associated with its racial identity, and ordered a desegregation plan that includes academic upgrading of the college. (Note: The judge considered that one of the two major tests involved, the Georgia Rising Junior Test, did "not appear to be subject to possible attacks of cultural bias.")[16]

Unfair Accountability: The Fears of Teachers

The National Conference on Testing referred to above was held in a climate of mounting opposition to testing among educators. The National Association of Elementary School Principals has urged resistance to any use of standardized testing for purposes which cannot benefit the child. Some groups, including the Association of Black Psychologists and the National Education Association, have called for a moratorium on standardized testing.

Teachers are among the most vocal and organized groups taking a stance in matters of accountability legislation and regulations. Fears of teachers that they will be unjustly held responsible for measured learning performance of students and that hard-won victories of status and tenure will be wrested from them have impeded the passage of legislation in some states. Two pieces of litigation suggest the basis for teacher fears:

- In IOWA, in the case of Norma Sheelhasse v. Woodburn Central Community School District, 1972, a federal district judge has ruled that a teacher cannot be dismissed solely on grounds that her students did not do well on tests (Iowa Tests of Educational Development and Iowa Tests of Basic Skills). The school district has appealed the decision.[17]

- In CALIFORNIA, the case of Peter Doe v. San Francisco Unified School District involves a student who graduated from high school but can read only at fifth grade level. The complaint contends that the plaintiff has been deprived of an education in the basic skills of reading and writing as a result of the acts and omissions of the defendants who are: the School District, its Board of Education and Superintendent of Schools;

the State Department of Education, its Board of Education, and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction; and one hundred (unnamed) defendants alleged to be the agents or employees of the public agencies.[18]

In a unique conference prior to filing of the Peter Doe suit a group of about sixty people (lawyers, educators, state and federal government representatives and school administrators) discussed the case and its legal and educational implications. The strongest case for the defense was marshalled by Judge Haskell Freedman who heavily emphasized the case for the teachers included among the defendants. They can, he contended, be held accountable neither legally nor educationally for the poor learning outcomes of the Peter Does of our schools:

- I accept the proposition that teachers should be educationally accountable, but add that to try to hold the teaching profession solely or substantially accountable under existing conditions in our public schools is injust, inequitable, and an attempt to use teachers as scapegoats for the failure of the educational process.[19]

We note that the Peter Doe complaint has been filed in California. Among the eight states now reporting legislation for the evaluation of professional employees,* California is the only one that explicitly requires assessment of personnel competence in relation to standards of student progress:

- CALIFORNIA. AB 293, enacted July 1971 (the "Stull" bill): The governing board of each school district shall develop and adopt specific evaluation and assessment guidelines which shall include but shall not necessarily be limited in content to the following elements: (a) the establishment of standards of expected student progress in each area of study and of techniques for the assessment of that progress, (b) assessment of certified personnel competence as it relates to the established standards... Each Board is required to "avail itself of the advice of the certificated instructional personnel from the district's organization of professional personnel." (Ed.Code 13486-7).

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* See Table 2.4, page 66.

And we note that California again leads the way in legislating the development of minimum standards for high school graduation:

> - CALIFORNIA. AB 655, 1972: The governing board of any school district maintaining a high school shall adopt minimum academic standards for graduation from the high schools within its school district... (Ed.Code 8574, amended 1972).

Teacher unions have taken a strong stance on accountability legislation. Delegates to the 1972 meeting of the National Education Association called, *inter alia*, for a national moratorium on standardized testing, for legislation to outlaw educational voucher plans, and for an end to performance contracting in public schools. Early in 1973 the NEA issued a declaration on educational accountability. The tone of commentary reporting that event suggests some of the strong feelings involved. The New York Teacher (official organ of the NYSUT) reported thus:

> - Acting in defense of victimized teachers and students, the 108-member NEA Board of Directors last month unanimously approved a declaration on educational accountability. NEA president Catherine Barrett praised the Board action and noted that a recent NEA report reveals that "compulsion about accountability in education has reached crisis proportions in at least 30 states and is spreading fast to all 50."

The Report on Education Research reported in this way:

> - NEA SEES EDUCATIONAL FASCISM IN ACCOUNTABILITY PUSH. The accountability movement is a "warped attempt" to apply corporate management system models to education, and it threatens students and teachers with "punitive, ill-conceived and probably inoperable" legislation and directives, NEA charged in a report to its members. It urged teachers to turn the trend around. Accountability misapplied can lead to a "closed system--educational fascism..."[20]

The four-page Briefing Memo issued by NEA on Accountability and the Teacher is more moderate in language.[21] It calls for "complete, not partial, accountability" and for an action program to "develop accountability measures to assess performance at every level of decision-making within school programs."

It decries the concept of accountability which seeks to assess a teacher's professional skill by testing students. An information package developed to guide teachers makes several references to legislation. It emphasizes six elements (goal setting, students, program, staff, resources, governance) in assessing learning outcomes and calls for state legislation to sanction negotiations for policies and agreements at local level on these matters. It asks: What can teachers do "to prevent the enactment of unfair accountability laws and ensure establishment of more equitable measures?" Actions advocated include:

- Ensuring that responsibility of various groups (boards, administrators, teachers, parents, students) gets identified and assessed.

- Working to have accountability measures take the form of state department regulations, which are more adaptable than legislation and easier to change and modify as new circumstances arise.

- Seeking to prevent polarization of public thinking on education because of pushes towards systemization and standardization. The other side is humanization and greater openness. "Legislation should never be used to establish a single persuasion of educational thought."

The NEA Briefing Memo urges teachers to engage in "appropriate collective action" in response to the implementation of "ill-advised accountability measures." "Ill-advised" in this context applies to accountability plans which (a) use limited measures to assess effectiveness in education and/or (b) fail to apportion responsibility for outcomes and effectiveness of schooling among all the parties involved.

New York State offers examples of the strong stance taken by teacher unions against accountability legislation. Resolutions submitted by the United Federation of Teachers at the first annual convention of New York State United Teachers in 1973 included the following:[22]

- To support efforts to block the voucher plan at the federal level by the NEA, the AFT, the AFL-CIO, and other groups.

- To resist any effort to authorize school districts in New York State to sign performance contracts.

- To urge the Board of Regents to reject certain recommendations of The Fleischmann Commission* and to urge the State Legislature to refuse to enact them into law. The offending recommendations pertain to: voucher plans for vocational education, total community control of New York City public schools, performance contracting, differentiated staffing, and merit pay for teachers.

The Fleischmann Commission recommendations condemned by the UFT were viewed as containing "a preponderance of anti-teacher recommendations, which would be deleterious to the cause of quality public education."

Thus, both the proponents and the opponents of mandatory statewide testing and other types of accountability legislation voice the same arguments in support of their position: both contend that they act in the best interest of quality of public education.

Ambivalent Incentive Structures:
The Fears of School Administrators

It is not only teachers and their unions and students and their families who find cause to attack testing and its uses. Local schools and school district administrators have also evidenced wariness about how information assembled for accountability purposes will be used. This is particularly the case where there is some ambivalence about the operation of incentive schemes in which funding is keyed to levels of performance on tests. Are funds to go to schools that rate high on tests, increasing their advantage over those scoring low? Or are they to go to schools showing low on tests, without reward for those scoring high? Or is there some incentive scheme which can be devised to motivate all districts and schools to steadily improve performance?

The ETS cites two examples in its 1971 survey of assessment programs, illustrating the double-guessing which can go on when the incentive is acquiring more funds in a school district.

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* The Commission worked for two years on the cost, quality and financing of education in New York State. Its Report emphasizes establishment of a state accountability system including all educational programs.

- One state is using reading test scores in a formula for determining specific sums of money to be allocated to school districts to provide reading specialist teachers. A school may suddenly find itself without funds for specialized assistance because it was previously successful in improving reading levels.

- Under similar legislation in another state, funds are awarded to schools ranking lowest on common measures. Some school principals were talking of deliberately over-speeding test administration so school performance would not be up to the mark on tests. "If failure is to be rewarded, it is folly to be successful."

"Beating the system" is an art practiced by many. Some consider it a survival skill. It is one of the learning outcomes of education which tests do not seek to measure but which can invalidate tests and the judgments based upon them. Anomalous incentive structures encourage such invalidation and are an obvious pitfall to be avoided in designing policies intended to increase the quality of education.

Michigan has provided leadership in developing incentive structures for allocating compensatory aid using improvement in student performance as a prime criterion for the award of special funds.

- MICHIGAN. Under Ch.3 of SB 1269 state funds were allocated to LEA's on the basis of the number of pupils in K-6 found in need of substantial improvement in basic skills. Statewide norm-referenced tests of reading and arithmetic were used to identify the educationally disadvantaged (defined as those falling below the 15th percentile). Schools with the highest concentration of such students received allotments. In effect, there is a three-year performance contract between school districts and the state. Local schools worked with parents to translate general goals into performance objectives; local choices were made about the nature of instructional programs needed to achieve these; and local tests were devised to check attainment of objectives. Funding was based solely on pre- and post-tests. Schools received $200 for each student achieving 75% of the performance objectives set for him and were pro-rated for lower-level achievement.[23]

Funds were cut off or cut back where schools failed to improve performance of students according to standards set by parents and teachers. While it is too soon to judge the longer-term impact of

this incentive scheme, initial results have been heralded as highly successful.

Some features of the Michigan incentive structure are paralleled in the March 1973 proposal by Rep. Albert Quie (R.-Minn.) to change the criteria for distributing federal funds under Title I, ESEA. This proposal would make educational rather than economic deprivation the basis for remedial funding and would use criterion-referenced tests as a measurement instrument.

Basing incentive structures on labels or location of services has its pitfalls and anomalies. The Federal and Michigan examples above illustrate how a shift in label from "economically disadvantaged" to "educationally disadvantaged" may change the flow of remedial funding. Another example is provided by funding for special education. We noted earlier a trend towards moving children from special to regular education classes. This shift in locus and labeling creates anomalies in states that base funding of the handicapped on the label or location of children rather than on their instructional needs:

> - State funds in many cases are distributed on the basis of the number of special education classes or the number of children in different categories. If handicapped children are in regular classes, they are not counted for extra aid in some states. However, other states, such as Tennessee and South Carolina, have new laws providing aid based on service rendered, not on labels or location of services.[24]

In addition to wariness arising from anomalous incentive structures geared to test scores, school administrators have general misgivings about how tests will be used in decision-making. Delegates at the 1972 meetings of the National Association of Elementary School Principals (NAESP) passed a resolution calling for principals to "resist individually" and to encourage their local and state groups "to resist any use of standardized testing for purposes which cannot benefit the child and may be harmful to his welfare." Some principals considered that testing puts a greater strain on principals and teachers than on children because educators fear that tests will be used as personal evaluation instruments. Few supported the use of

test data for comparing performance of school systems, schools, classrooms, principals, or teachers, but a number of principals expected pressure from state legislatures and education departments to test for purposes of making such comparisons. "Legislatures can recognize only one thing--statistics," said one principal.[25]

C. Evaluation and Decisions: The Adequacy of the Information about the "Adequacy of Education"

Using Test-related Data in Decision-making

We have been discussing evaluation and decisions from the perspective of multiple publics affected by decisions. We have seen that the search for social justice, efficiency and adequacy in education affects many people: students, parents, teachers, administrators, among others. And we have discussed some of the fears and pitfalls to be anticipated in designing and implementing accountability programs in which testing of student performance is the major evaluation instrument.

Attention now shifts from fears about the use of information to the information itself. How adequate is the information generated under legislated statewide testing as a basis for judgments about quality and effectiveness and for decisions about the future development of education? Evaluation by testing, among other things, is intended to provide a basis for decisions "to correct deficiencies in the state education system," to "help districts (or schools) make improvements in their weak areas," to guide educational planning, to "enhance the quality" of programs and schooling, and to "expand life opportunities and options of students." All of these imply what is stated most explicitly in the California legislation: the evaluation (based upon test scores and "related" data) is to be provided "so that the Legislature and individual school districts may allocate resources in a manner to assure the maximum educational opportunity for all pupils."

Is the information assembled and analyzed under statewide testing adequate in itself to guide allocative decisions to achieve greater quality, equity and efficiency in schooling? On the basis of available evidence, it can be argued that it is not. There is a large gap between the ends espoused and the particular means utilized to assess their attainment. Even were we to overcome problems of testing and interpretation of test scores, there remain difficulties in utilizing identified evaluation information in decision-making.

Tests, Testers and Testing: Attack and Response

There are problems with tests: what they seek to measure, what in fact they measure, their reliability, their biases, their scoring reference systems.* Tests, test makers and test users are under attack at the present time, even while standardized statewide testing is being mandated in many states.

Major testing agencies are under fire. The prestigious Educational Testing Service of Princeton, New Jersey was the subject of a Ralph Nader-style investigation in 1972. The expressed intent was to evaluate the evaluators, to look into "the functions of ETS, its responsibilities to its consumers (students), its impact on the educational system and charges of racial, financial, cultural and sexual discrimination." Prior to investigation the Service was dubbed "an unregulated monopoly wielding a great deal of power but responsible to no one."[26] The director of this Nader-affiliated investigation is also directing a project for the National Student Association. The NSA project involves nine college-based national brainstorming sessions in which tests are held up to the light of "public accountability" and in which ETS, the American College Testing Program, and Psychological Corporation (which handles Medical College Aptitude Tests) are exposed to public scrutiny.[27]

* For a discussion of testing problems, see pages 165-176, below, in the paper by Naomi White.

Some professional evaluators are to be found in the avant-garde of those urging caution in interpreting test results. An ex-director of ETS recently made a speech in which major emphasis was placed upon human aspects affecting test reliability: the transactions among test makers, test givers, and test takers. He asks:[28]

> How does one get the users of tests--especially those who use tests as instruments for determining educational policy--to know enough about the innards of the tests they are using to have some clear idea of what the test scores are saying about what children are learning and schools are teaching? [Emphasis added]

How far can problems associated with testing be mitigated by advances in evaluation technology? Some would argue that there are grounds for optimism. Wayne Holtzman, for example, in an address entitled "The Changing World of Mental Measurement and its Social Significance,"[29] identifies several pressures in American society consistent with and supportive of new developments in measurement and instruction. He notes among other things: the emergence of modular curricula, using criterion-referenced testing for standardized mastery rather than normative testing for measuring individual differences; the contributions of NAEP (National Assessment of Educational Progress) in test design and administration; and the development of high-speed electronic computers which can serve new patterns of instruction and process large amounts of complex data. Even some of the problems of "individual privacy vs. the needs of social research data banks," he suggests, are technically capable of resolution. As to cultural bias in tests, there is increasing recognition of cultural variability and some bare beginnings in collaborative translation, calibration and administration of psychological measures across cultures and sub-cultures.

Advances in techniques, in testing as in other domains, are proceeding apace. They sharpen the need to confront the questions: What do we want to evaluate? What goals for education shall the measurement techniques serve? And who shall decide, by what means, the goals and the uses of evaluation?

"Determinants" of Scholastic Achievement:
The Need to Examine Assumptions

Let us suppose that advances in the field of measurement can considerably reduce problems of tests and testing. Let us suppose that we can sensibly lessen dangers of misinterpretation of published test scores by furnishing clear caveats and associated information. Let us suppose that we can allay fears of invasion of privacy, reduce the temptation to falsify responses, and mitigate problems of ambivalent incentives structures. Even if we posit progress on these dimensions, there remain some questions about utilizing the information generated under testing programs as the primary basis for policy decisions.

The information assembled under statewide testing programs, as we noted earlier, consists of basic test scores and "related data." The latter are considered to have some explanatory power; they include variables referred to in the literature as "determinants of achievement." When policy decisions are contemplated that rest heavily upon test-related information, it is important to examine possible latent assumptions about "determinants of achievement." Examining these surfaces further problems to be addressed in designing and implementing policies to serve quality, equity, and efficiency in education. The assumptions, stated broadly for discussion purposes, are of the following order:

a) That the variables examined in relation to test scores (primarily selected input measures) determine or explain achievement more significantly than variables not examined.

b) That educational policy can significantly increase achievement test scores by influencing these identified input variables.

c) That performance on mandated tests is the primary indicator of quality of education.

d) That educational policy towards K-12 schooling significantly affects employment and income and thus post-school quality of life.

e) That analysis of the part (performance in basic skills) is appropriate for decision-making affecting the whole (statewide quality of education).

As they stand, unqualified, these assumptions suggest a degree of assurance for educational decision-making which contrasts sharply with the ambiguity of the research evidence.

Ambivalence and Gaps in Research Findings

There is a considerable literature on determinants of scholastic achievement which may be summarized thus: Socio-cultural influences, inside and outside a formal educational system, affect aspirations, performance and scholastic achievement of students. However, there is some disagreement and a great deal of ambivalence in discriminating which factors are most important, the degree of their significance, and hence the implications for educational policy. A brief review of research will illustrate this generalization.[30]

There are recurring controversies about the relative influence of genetic and environmental factors upon ability. Even the strongest supporters of the genetic determinant tradition admit to some environmental influence on ability. There is a substantial body of international research that rejects the idea of some fixed "pool of ability," suggesting that ability is not a fixed quantity but is strongly influenced by environmental factors inside and outside schools.[31] Thus, the major research alliance called The International Project for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), after some six years of work involving twelve countries, emphasized the relationship of scholastic achievement in mathematics to organizational factors (school organization, curriculum, instructional methods), and "sociological, technological, and economic characteristics of families, schools and societies."[32] This general finding is confirmed in a host of studies. So is the interdependence of the variables--and therein lies a problem for deriving policy implications.

Thus far most attention has been given in research to the influence of environmental factors outside the school: socio-economic composition of the population; family background factors, such as parental education, paternal occupation and income, family size, ethnicity; community and neighborhood factors. In addition, large-scale studies associated with major federal policy interventions in the sixties have sought to assess the influence of resource inputs (funds, teachers, facilities, etc.) upon test scores. The intent was to furnish an information base for policies to equalize educational opportunities--a policy goal originally interpreted as equalizing access to education but increasingly conceived as equalizing opportunities for scholastic achievement.

As for variables within the school learning environment, there has been a lesser but growing effort by social scientists to identify those that are significant for measured achievement. An examination of the United States literature suggests that, of a range of variables connected with school organization, teacher characteristics and student characteristics, three are of particular significance: the attitudes of teachers, the composition of student peer groups, and the self-concept of students.

The closer we move to the locus of teaching and learning, the greater is our ignorance of how being in school affects what and how students learn and what they do with it. It is easy to find agreement that the relationships of students, teachers and teaching/learning styles ("what happens in classrooms") are of fundamental importance to education and whether schools are more or less educationally effective. Yet there is a dearth of policy-relevant research examining "process" variables and their relationship to learning. We have large banks of data which inform us of the relationship of selected inputs and test-defined outputs at school, district or state level; but we lack discriminating information about the relationship of particular resources, environments, and human interactions to the learning of particular students.

Research evidence gives little basis for assurance that we know which variables most affect achievement of what types of students, in what dimensions of learning, under what complementary circumstances. At the present time there is no generally accepted social-psychological theory of learning which would provide a basis for analyses of the efficiency of schools in terms of student achievement and its determinants. *The messages relayed by contemporary research to the domain of decision-making are ambivalent and cautionary, rather than assured. Without better knowledge of the system inputs and process variables which most affect learning outcomes, we are ill-equipped to influence these outcomes by policy and planning.*

But what about resources? Do not more resources raise performance levels? Again the evidence is ambivalent. The Equal Educational Opportunity Survey (the Coleman Report), the many reworkings of its data, Project Talent, the Plowden Report (U.K.) and the recent and controversial study by Jencks and others, all suggest that though some resources and policies do sometimes bear relationships to cognitive achievement scores, the general effect of variations in resource inputs (funds, facilities, teachers, etc.) is either slight or unpredictable.[33] This is not to say that resources make no difference; it is to say that *we do not know under what conditions particular combinations of resources, used with what particular target groups, along with what complementary conditions, may influence an individual's eventual level of competence in reading, verbal and calculating skills.*

This conclusion does not offer much guidance for policy decisions. There are features of research-generated information that mitigate against policy relevance. The broad evaluations of major interventions in education, deliberately intended to guide public policy, fall short of serving that purpose well. This is partly because of the great complexity of interdependencies among variables examined; but it is also occasioned in part by dealing largely in variables remote from the locus of learning, and by utilizing macro-data that average out significant variation at the teacher/learner level. On the other hand, less publicized and more fragmentary micro-level studies of

schooling do more often deal with variables proximal to the locus of learning; but they generally fail to take account of costs and they, too, fall short of policy relevance.

Problems for Policy Inference

Given the ambivalence of research findings and the constraints of the data, any policy inferences drawn must be examined with utmost care. An example will illustrate the problems. A major research report, having reviewed input-output studies of school effectiveness and identified deficiencies in design and data, affirms that the evidence is inconclusive: The research fails to show that school resources do affect student outcomes; but it does not show that they do not; it is unable to identify what particular resources should be provided to students. Despite recognition of the limitations of the research reviewed, the report authors state:

> [Input-output research] has yielded one important policy implication. The resources for which school systems have traditionally been willing to pay a premium--teachers' experience, reduced class size, and teachers' advanced degrees--do not appear to be of great value. Inexperienced teachers do not appear to produce students whose outcomes are significantly worse than the outcomes of students whose teachers are experienced, other things being equal. Similarly, students whose teachers have advanced degrees or who are in small classes do not do better, other things being equal, than students of teachers lacking advanced training or attending large classes.[34] [Emphasis added]

The policy inference is that efficiency in schooling can be raised by increasing the student-teacher ratio and by using teachers with less formal education and less teaching experience (same output, smaller inputs of salaries).

The shaky basis for this policy inference will be more apparent if we sharpen the nature of the finding. More accurately stated it is of this order: Student/teacher ratios on the average within X range show little significant impact upon scores of students on standardized achievement tests of lower cognitive abilities. Three considerations must then be noted which challenge the generalized policy inference that reducing teacher-related inputs will increase the efficiency of schools. They concern the nature of the output indicator, the aggregation of data, and the nature of the input

indicators used in input-output studies.

(1) The outcome indicator utilized often reflects only lower cognitive skills, using tests which have imperfections even for that purpose. The measures emphasize, for example, whether children know how to read, rather than whether they do read, the motivation to read, what they read, and how they integrate what they read into thinking and doing. They disregard higher cognitive skills and affective development. Does the student/teacher ratio influence learning in any of these broad areas? We do not know; we think it might; we cannot conclude from input-output research that it does not.

(2) The aggregation problem. Input-output studies typically use input data aggregated to school or district level and thereby average out significant variations. Several studies confirm that about 65-70% of the variation in student achievement scores occurs between pupils in the same school.[35] Thus, when resource or other "determinants" data are aggregated to school level they cannot account for more than one-third of the variation in scores; at district level the variation that can be accounted for is even less. Does the student/teacher ratio affect achievement scores? We do not know; we think it might; we cannot conclude from input-output research that it does not because we have no information about the relationship between particular ratios (or the experience and training of particular teachers) and the performance of specific groups of children at the intra-school level where most of the score variation is found.

(3) The remoteness of the input indicators utilized from the locus of learning activity is a prime constraint. We need to know how resources are used as well as their quantity. In the case of teachers, years of training and experience may be less significant than the nature of the training and the experience, and the way these resources are utilized within a school and a classroom. We need to know the relationship between different patterns of resource utilization at class level (including use of teacher and student time)--the interaction of students, teachers, other resources, and teaching/learning styles. Does the student/teacher ratio, teacher

experience, and training affect student learning? We do not know; we think they do; we cannot conclude from input-output research that they do not, because the research does not utilize indicators that are sensitive and proximal enough to the activity of learning. A finding of the Pennsylvania Quality Assessment Program emphasizes the point:

> - PENNSYLVANIA Educational Quality Assessment Program collected data for 47 condition variables and found that they did not explain 51% of the variation in standard performance on a range of diverse goal measures. "The most likely explanation appears to be that process variables, the things students and teachers do in the classroom and other school settings, are important contributors to the variability of students in goal performance measures. These variables, being modifiable by the school provide hope for the possibility of improving the quality of education." 36

Countering Some Assumptions

From this discouraging sortie into the research findings, we now return to countering the assumptions apparently underlying the use of information assembled under statewide testing for purposes of guiding decision-making in education. These points can now be made:

- Variables selected for examination in statewide testing programs do not explain achievement more significantly than variables not examined.

- Selected variables fall heavily in the domain of influences external to the school. These influences are not amenable to change by K-12 educational policy alone: they require coordinated social policies in such domains as income and employment--and no doubt a sophisticated approach to educating adults.

- In-school variables are amenable to treatment by educational policy and they lie within the locus of control of the school. However, with rare and localized exceptions, they are given scant attention in evaluating the adequacy, effectiveness and efficiency of schools.

- There are correlations between measures of cognitive scholastic achievement and employment and income after completion of schooling. However, current

research does not support the assumption that these elements of "quality of life" are readily amenable to regulation by educational policy alone.

- There is considerable doubt to be cast on assuming that we can rely heavily upon test scores as the major measure of the outcomes of schooling and the quality of education. At best these data may provide a valuable indicator of the status of achievement in limited dimensions of human development. But, without attention to other important dimensions and to relative costs, there is no basis for assessing the complementarities and trade-offs to be considered in planning the future of education.

We have a vast amount of evidence concerning what schools cannot do. They cannot assure employment. They cannot assure income. They cannot assure quality of life after completion of schooling. These matters are not amenable to guarantee through educational policy directed at compulsory schooling. They depend heavily upon coordinated, complementary policies in several dimensions of national life.

What can the schools accomplish? What are they good for? How do they affect the lives and learning of those who spend increasing years of their lives there: students, teachers, administrators? These are questions that cry out for attention in the process of educational policy planning. Our quest to define the information needs for decision-making is futile without examination of the educating purposes of schools and unless we emphasize areas where educational policy can make a difference to the achievement of those purposes. The issues associated with the purposes of schooling are critical and they deserve the special discussion accorded them in the ensuing paper. For the present, let us re-emphasize areas in which educational policy can make a difference--and, therefore, for which accountability may be legitimately required.

Educational policy can make a difference to life inside schools. It can affect the variables at work inside the classroom. We could, if we choose, seek to improve the quality of life and learning of those who spend large proportions of their lives in schools. If

we were to seek indicators of "quality of education" ranging beyond standardized test scores, we might begin to identify variables subject to educational policy which would indicate quality of life in schools. This would parallel in some ways the shift in attention at societal level from total preoccupation with economic indicators of national "progress" to broader social indicators of the state of the nation--from measuring economic growth to seeking to assess quality of life. Such a shift in emphasis might blur some of the false distinctions which make formal education (all 10-20 years of it) a prelude or a means to life and living, rather than an integral part of life and living. It might enable us to move more easily in and out of those two parts of our world which have been labelled "work" and "education."

The broadening of perspective implied in seeking a range of indicators of "quality of life in schools" is not a retreat into the pleasure principle: happiness for its own sake whether there are learning outcomes or not. On the contrary: the quality of life and the quality of learning in schools are intimately related. The quality of life perspective would require greater attention to the locus of teaching/learning activities in schools and to the variety of ways in which different human beings interact with each other and with their environment and resources in the process of learning. Thus we would come closer than we are now to understanding how the educating purposes of schools might be achieved--more equitably, more effectively, more efficiently. And this is the expressed intent of the legislation examined.

Information for Decisions: What Kind of More is Better?

Data for decision-making, it can be argued, are never adequate, never sufficient, only more or less so. It is tempting to conclude that what we need of any kind of information is "more," that when we have more information we will be better off, will make sounder-based judgments than when we have less. But, in data collection as in education, more is not necessarily better. In information

collection as in education, the scarcer resources become the more important are the trade-offs in allocation. Expenditures on massive data collection in one area may preclude generation of data in others or the quality of analysis that can aid policy-makers. Major new banks of data on limited aspects of measured learning may be bought at the price of information on a wider range of indicators of school performance and the range of information which can make analysis policy-relevant. There is a real danger that decisions may then be made which distort learning opportunities and run counter to the intention of increasing the overall quality of education.

To be useful for decision-making information has to be policy-relevant. More information will not provide a better basis for policy judgments if it serves only to confirm what we know: that some educational problems are not school problems but societal problems whose melioration requires concerted social policies. More information will not be policy-relevant if the data are so aggregated that they average out significant variation in achievement and fail to discriminate how in-school, in-class environment and interactions affect student learning, behaviors, and the quality of living in schools. More information will not be policy-relevant if outcomes and effectiveness are not related to costs, and if costs as well as outcomes are narrowly construed.

In data collection as in education we have to ask: What kind of more is better, for what purposes, for whom? There are no one-shot answers to those questions any more than there is a single legitimate measure of the quality of schools. These questions have to be confronted in a continuing process of policy planning which engages relevant actors in addressing issues of alternative goals, evaluative criteria, strategies, and actions for the development of quality education.

PART FOUR

BEYOND THE LEGISLATION: THE POLICY-PLANNING PROCESS

An Exploration

Contemporary statewide testing/assessment legislation functions as part of the traditional political process which formalizes public decisions about education. At the same time it has the potential to change that process. In several states the legislation requires the development of new mechanisms and procedures for decision and action. These deserve close examination both for their impact upon traditional modes of administration and for their success in dealing with problems and issues confronted in the decision-making process.

As we saw earlier, a major difficulty arises from the inadequacy of contemporary research and its findings to guide allocative decisions that will increase efficiency, effectiveness, quality, and equity in education. If we were to wait, however, for definitive research findings before acting, probably little action would be taken. The absence of sure-fire strategies and guarantees of successful outcomes complicates the process of decision-making. This complication, in some measure, will probably always be present. It emphasizes the precariousness of relying unduly upon any single indicator of problems or any single measure or criterion of success in resolving them. It underscores the need to design and implement policies on the basis of continuing, critical appraisal of alternative goals, strategies, tactics, and their potential consequences. It also suggests the importance of devising policy instruments that can be flexibly applied to varying circumstances and adjusted as evidence emerges from evaluation of policy implementation. The process by which these various activities are facilitated is what we call the

policy-planning process. It is the focus of the ensuing discussion.

Analysis to this point has been based upon study of legislation, litigation, evaluative research and associated documentation. To analyze processes in the states in which alternative goals, policies and policy instruments are evaluated, decisions made, and action initiated and monitored would require substantially different documentation supported by field study. That being so, this discussion of aspects of the policy-planning process is exploratory--a prelude to investigation, not a report upon it. We will consider first the relationship of goals, evaluation and resource allocation in the overall decision-making process; then the scope of action and the range of participants involved in planning within that larger process; and finally, the nature of changing conceptions of planning functions, roles and styles.

A. Evaluation, Resource Allocation, and Goals

We are concerned in this exploratory discussion with a continuing process wherein goals are generated and examined, objectives specified, evaluations undertaken and interpreted, and policy alternatives analyzed to guide decisions affecting the future of education and its publics.

Evaluation and Resource Allocation

Thus far discussion has emphasized evaluation aspects of that process--a major feature of the statewide testing legislation. Some related problems and questions have already been identified. Some of them can be anticipated and dealt with more readily than others during the planning process. We noted, for example, the need to examine problems of tests, testers and testing; alternative incentive structures and their impact; ways of minimizing misinterpretation of evaluation information. We noted also the stake of multiple interest groups in addressing these and other less tractible issues; for example, the sensitivity of evaluation data and the distribution of responsibility for outcomes. In every case where evaluation was

under attack the primary concern was with the ways in which evaluation-by-testing was being or might be used in decision-making.

In the last analysis, information generated under legislated programs is intended to guide decisions about the allocation of resources to promote increased quality, equity, and efficiency in schooling. There are perhaps more analytic tools available to examine efficiency than quality and equity, but even these have not been skillfully used in the evaluation of schools.

How shall we allocate among competing ends scarce means which have alternative uses? This is the classic problem addressed in economics. Addressing it in the domain of education requires an understanding of learning processes and purposes as well as economic analysis; understanding its resolution in practice requires attention to political as well as economic rationality. Nevertheless, if we do not address that question, then we belie the claim to undertake what the legislation terms "objective evaluation" of the "adequacy" and "efficiency" of public schooling. At a minimum, addressing the question requires some clarity about "competing ends," about "scarce means," and about "alternative uses" of resources in schools.

We have seen that evaluations of school effectiveness often take "ends" as given and pay little attention to alternative utilization patterns of "scarce means" in the teaching/learning process. Assessment of the relationship between ends and scarce means then becomes a travesty of the rational analysis of alternatives which could make a major contribution to the basis for policy judgments. The information assembled under statewide testing programs, legislated or not, is subject to the same range of criticism. Heavy reliance upon information generated in evaluation-by-testing can skew attention, allocations, and activities in schools towards what is measured and rewarded to the detriment of the range of complementary and competing educational purposes of schooling.

What are the penalties of emphasizing analysis of the part in making allocative decisions affecting the whole? What are the

opportunity costs, what is the learning foregone if we place the weight of resources on some dimensions of human development rather than on others? We are here entering the rough terrain of goal and value analysis and the problems of assessing the unintended consequences of achievement of some targets for the achievement or non-achievement of others.

Questions of Goals, Priorities, and Objectives

Discussion of the problems associated with evaluation largely bypassed questions of goals, priorities and objectives, save where examination of assumptions brought us to the thorny questions: What are the schools good for? What do we mean by quality of education? Yet goal-related questions are basic to the policy-planning agenda. What goals, whose goals for education? What kind of education? for what purposes? for whom? where? when? how? And who shall engage in addressing and answering these questions? on what grounds? in what process? requiring what information? and what competencies? These are fundamental, universal, continuing questions that are answered explicitly or by default in all countries and in all time periods. They are politically salient in the United States at the present time, but they are rarely confronted and carefully analyzed in the traditional arenas of public decision-making.

The broad issues which impinge upon the choice of goals and priorities in education are also fundamental and enduring. They involve, among other things, the balance to be sought in education between uniformity and diversity; between homogenization and individualization; between individual development and socialization; between protecting minimal rights and protecting and facilitating freedom of choice and action; between what various groups desire and what society will tolerate in the way of alternatives within schools, alternative schools, and alternatives to schools. The balance between these elements cannot be resolved once for all. Rather, we have to seek a continuing awareness of the state of balance and tradeoffs, lest we swing to extremes of emphasis which distort the equity, efficiency and quality we seek in education.

These goal-related questions and issues can and must be addressed in relation to the current wave of statewide testing/assessment legislation and practices. Hence the critical importance of the companion paper which follows. It considers the implications of the emphasis on minimal skills (translated as reading, writing, and computation) in the statutes of several states. There are several possible conceptualizations of "basic skills"--alternative and complementary to the 3R's interpretation--to be derived from contemporary learning and social theory. Each incorporates an understanding of the nature of human learning and development. Each involves beliefs about the social role of education. The various ways of interpreting "basic skills," if explored and implemented, could have profound consequences for the viability of local versus state determination of educational goals, priorities, and objectives; for what these might be in different communities; for the form that evaluation of their attainment might take; for which agencies might legitimately be held responsible for ensuring the acquisition of particular skills; and for informing discussion in public and political forums where decisions about resource allocation are made.

It is apparent that questions of "what education--for whom--where--when--how" have complex ramifications. The notion of basic or minimal skills alone opens a Pandora's box of issues--including those of balance between guaranteeing minimal rights and protecting freedom of choice and action.

The primary concern here is not with the goals and issues themselves, but with the nature of the continuing process in which questions and issues of goals, priorities, objectives, evaluation, implementation are addressed systematically as a basis for policy decisions. That process may be conceptualized in terms of the span of inquiry and action that it encompasses and the range of actors that it engages.

B. Dimensions of the Planning Process: The Span of Action and the Range of Actors Involved

The programmatic approach to educational planning observed in many states and in the operations of federal agencies tends to encourage partial planning and analysis. It incurs concomitant disadvantages for integrated decision-making. Thus, in the domain of assessment programs, there is evidence of considerable overlap and lack of communication in some states. There is duplication of effort and there are gaps in effort. There is little evidence that cross-impacts, cross-purposes, and complementarities of piecemeal programs intended to increase the "quality of education" are examined comprehensively in a continuing policy-planning process.

For discussion purposes we might posit a span of inquiry and action in which the scope of interest and activities broadens thus:

Testing -- Evaluation -- Assessment -- Program Planning - Comprehensive Planning -- Policy Planning

SPAN OF INQUIRY AND ACTION

Technical apolitical ... technical+ political

At one end of the stylized continuum we have a testing activity, apparently technical and apolitical (but not regarded so by all publics of education); at the other end of the continuum we posit a policy-planning process which encompasses testing and other activities, and which deliberately seeks to marry technical analysis with policy decisions. The testing end of the continuum takes goals as given, and is likely to have operational objectives relating to narrowly specified dimensions of human development. The policy-planning process seeks to deal with analysis, including goal analysis, affecting the whole. It includes consideration of alternative policy decisions affecting the future of education (as contrasted with, say, programmatic decisions about the future of reading skills).

Between the testing and the policy-planning activities, we posit several others. Evaluation is a broader category than testing. It encompasses a wider range of instruments for appraising a wider range of performance. And it includes attention to costs and to process as well as to outcomes. Assessment, as used in "needs assessment," includes the elaboration of goals, their translation into performance objectives, and the evaluation of the gap between what is occurring (as evaluated) and particular objectives. Assessment may be general (pertaining to all aspects of schooling and learning) or particular (relating only to student outcomes and/or particular learning areas such as 3R's). It may or may not be part of a continuing policy-planning process. Of itself, it does not necessarily imply a continuing process; nor does it incorporate the generation of designs for remedying deficiencies, improving programs, and presenting costed policy alternatives for decision-making.

Both program planning and comprehensive planning involve a continuing process which includes some form of assessment, plus the preparation of costed alternatives for future development of education and monitoring the implementation of alternatives chosen. In program planning the analysis emphasizes specific aspects of the development of education and there is no necessary implication that the activity takes into account interactions with other programs. Comprehensive planning, on the other hand, requires integrated analysis of various programs with attention to tradeoffs and complementarities among programs and among strategies of action. By giving explicit attention to coordination of activities, comprehensive planning seeks to avoid the overlaps and gaps that characterize uncoordinated program planning.

Both "program planning" and "comprehensive planning" refer to systematic rational analysis; neither deliberately attends to the politics of planning. Policy planning, as the concept has been developed at EPRC/Syracuse, deliberately seeks to marry systematic technical analysis with concern for the dynamics of decision-making, notably by giving explicit attention to the nature of participation in the process and to the ways in which information generated in the process can be used

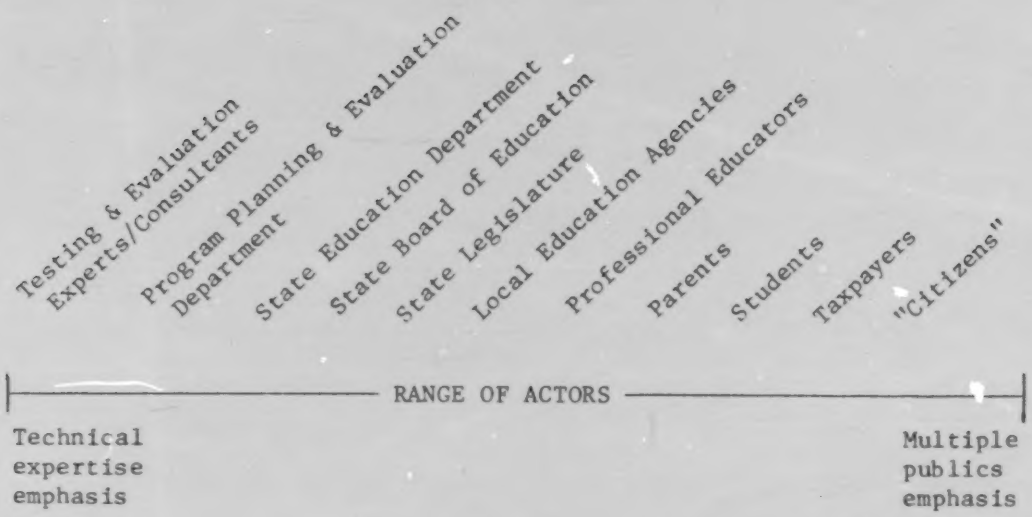
by policy-makers and the multiple publics of education affected by their decisions.

In order to achieve some conceptual clarity, we have distinguished various terms according to the span of inquiry and action they involve. The ascribed definitions, however, are not neatly maintained in practice. People may speak of "assessment" and "evaluation" when in reality all they are doing is "testing" student achievement. "Assessment" is sometimes used to describe programs which, upon examination, involve only impoverished versions of goal analysis. The term "comprehensive planning" is sometimes applied to activities which at best coordinate only a few programs (for example, those generated by federal monies and reported according to federal guidelines). In any given case, therefore, it is important to examine the actual range of questions addressed and the actual nature of activities undertaken rather than to assume the span of inquiry and action from the labels ascribed to them.

If testing is not part of an ongoing policy-planning process, then we are likely to find partial analysis substituting for overall analysis, with testing targets taken as surrogates for the goals of education and test scores taken as the valid measures of quality in education. If, on the other hand, testing is an integral part of a continuing policy-planning process, then we can at least posit the possibility that it will serve rather than determine goal and strategy priorities in educational policy.

The Range of Actors

Who participates in the policy-planning process? Here again there is a span of possibilities. The range of possible actors might be arrayed thus:



The more testing and planning are viewed as "purely" technical activities, the more they are likely to be considered the preserve of "experts." The more they are seen as not "purely" technical, not apolitical (that is, the more they are perceived as highly relevant to political decision-making), the greater are likely to be the pressures by multiple publics to participate in the policy-planning process.

Similar pressures are encountered in the process of designing and seeking to enact legislation. A recurring complaint of teachers, for example, is that they are asked to participate, not in designing policy, but only at the level of implementing requirements which they perceive threaten both their interests and the "quality of education." This does not imply that there are no ways in which interest groups can influence decisions. Lobbying, boycotting and other forms of action are traditional and effective forms of politicking in education as in other domains. When engagement takes this adversary form at a late stage in decision-making, however, it suggests poor development

of mechanisms for systematically involving various groups and taking account of their views within the continuing process of policy-planning.

Action and Actors: A Matrix

We might pursue the development of an heuristic device. The matrix on the next page brings together conceptions of the span of action and the range of actors discussed above and suggests broad patterns which might be found in the states.

Pattern A reflects a situation where activities related to testing and evaluation programs are seen as the domain of action of technical experts and do not encompass goal and strategy analysis or involve broad participation. The diametric opposite pattern, Pattern D, characterizes the case where there is a comprehensive policy-planning process and deliberate efforts to involve multiple publics in the process. Intermediate Pattern B suggests situations where various publics are involved but only in restricted dimensions of policy-planning (perhaps in examining alternative means, but not alternative goals; perhaps in generating various goals, but not in examining priorities, consequences, or cross-impacts). Pattern C suggests a comprehensive but technicist approach to planning where the process is largely dominated by technical experts and managerial efficiency concerns, with negligible attention to participatory modes and the development of administrative styles to accommodate them.

It might be possible to roughly plot various points in the matrix that approximate the position of particular states at the present time--and perhaps over the span of the past five years. This would suggest, among other things: some trends to monitor; some lead states; states demonstrating extremes of the stylized patterns; dimensions of innovation in roles and operating styles in state education agencies; development of capabilities at state level which will be of crucial importance the more there is a move to revenue-sharing and a devolution to SEA's of that part of the heavy burden of planning, evaluation and administration thus far borne largely by the U.S. Office of Education.

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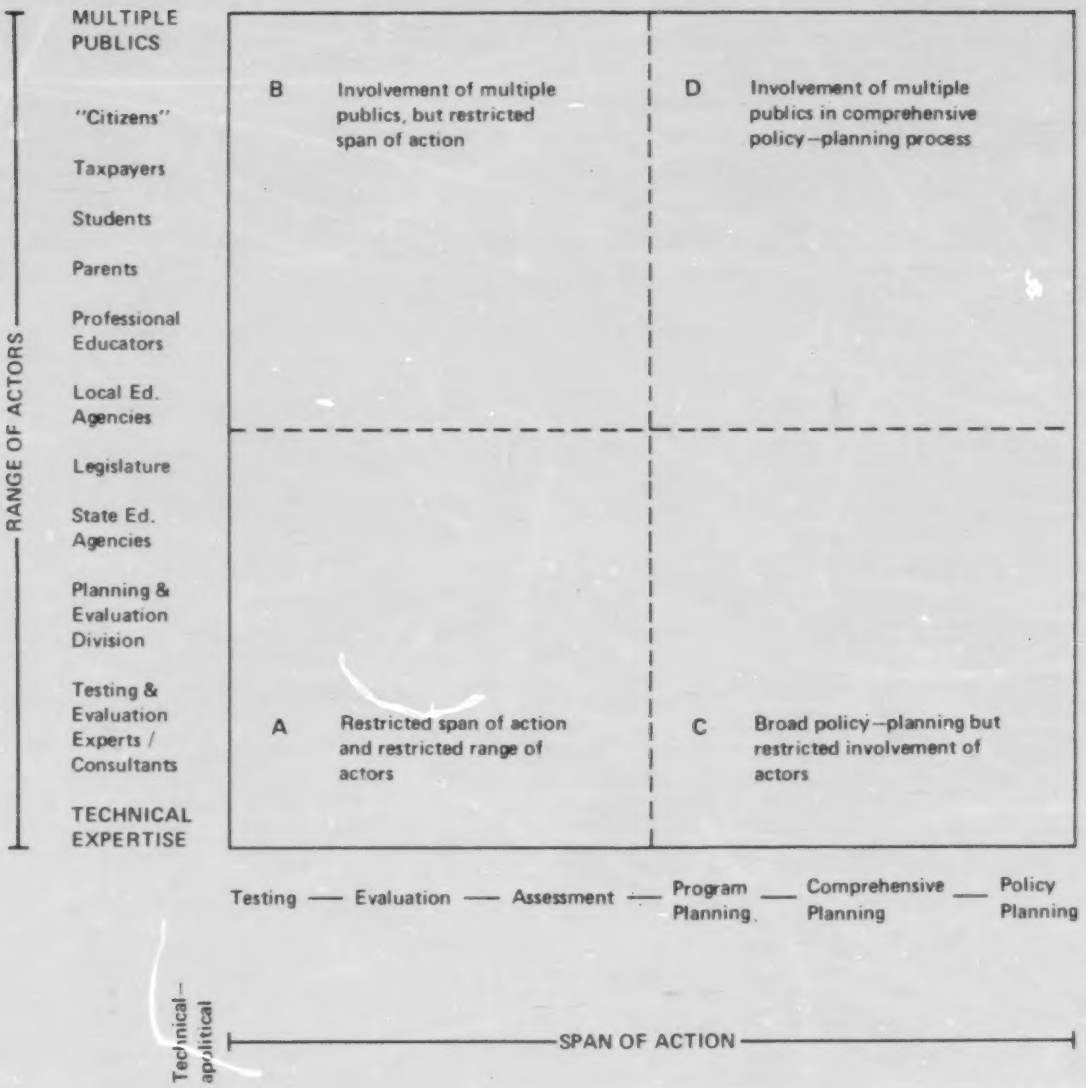
TABLE 2.14

PATTERNS OF EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND EVALUATION WITH VARYING SPAN OF ACTION AND RANGE OF ACTORS



Webster/EPRC
May 1973

Action, Actors, and Planning Capabilities

There are growing pressures upon planning units in state education agencies to expand their span of action and to increase the range of people involved in the expanded activities. To what extent is a planning capability being developed to meet these challenges? As relatively young planning units seek to confront major new responsibilities, what kinds of problems do they encounter and to what extent are viable solutions being found to them? What kinds of planning competencies are needed to meet new demands? To what extent are they being developed and by what means? These and related questions cry out for attention at the present time. Without reliable answers to them it is not possible to answer another important question: What policies, at state and federal level, might strengthen the planning function in the states in the service of developing "better schools"?

From observation and discussions in various states and from such documents as are available it is possible to sketch some elements of the situation of planning units.[37] There are variations within and among states in dealing with the action/actors spectrum in planning and there are variations in the functions, capabilities, styles of operation, and perceived status and legitimacy of educational planning units. A few state agencies appear to have institutionalized planning departments, with a firm base of support, and have accumulated some experience in developing a planning process (as contrasted with "making plans"). Most planning units, however, have been established since 1970 (when Title IV, Section 402 ESEA funds became available). Many are suffering the growing pains of establishing a planning capability, with precarious funding and uncertain status in the agency, and have barely begun to confront the complexities of designing and implementing a viable planning process.

In a few states there has been experimentation in introducing participatory mechanisms at various levels of decision-making and

in a variety of planning activities. In many other states participatory experience is more restricted in type and in depth of involvement. Thus, many states have orchestrated elaborate exercises in setting state goals for education, involving large numbers of citizens; but it is not clear whether mechanisms are being developed to facilitate a continuing participatory process involving a broader range of activities.

The political, economic, and general social climate varies among states, presenting different conditions for educational policy-planning which must be taken into account. Nevertheless, many of the important policy issues and many of the problems encountered in planning are substantially similar across states. What is learned in some states about policy analysis, problem solutions, alternative development strategies, participatory mechanisms and their efficacy, and competency development is likely to be useful in others.

This depiction of variations in experience and commonalities in problems is drawn with the broadest brush. There is little in the way of well-documented critical appraisal of planning activities and needs in the states; and mechanisms for generating and sharing policy analysis and planning experience are poorly developed.

We know more at present about what the polity expects than about planning capabilities to meet the expectations. We know also that prospective federal policy changes are likely to increase pressures on the planning function in state agencies. Decentralization--of problems as well as of administration--will increase the already heavy demands on planning capabilities in the states. At the same time designs for revenue sharing point to the likely demise of specific federal support for the educational planning function at a time when strengthening it is crucial to the development of "better schools."

If policy judgments, both at federal and at state levels, affecting the strength of planning capabilities in the states are to be based upon sound evaluation, time is short for undertaking a needs

assessment in the area of state educational planning. The kind of appraisal needed should include attention to these dimensions:

- Span of Action: Where do planning activities fit on the continuum from narrow technical functions to comprehensive policy planning? What levels and kinds of education are included (public, private, K-12, vocational, post-secondary)?

- Information: What kinds of information are most essential for what kinds of decisions? How is available information used? Who has access to it? What information is needed but not available? How are overlaps of federal and local information needs handled?

- Relationships with Other Groups: What are the relationships of the planning unit with relevant groups at state, federal and local levels in terms of (a) technical coordination, (b) competition for resources, (c) political influence, (d) accountability?

- Competencies: What kinds of planning capabilities and personnel competencies are needed for (a) technical-analytic work, (b) managing the participatory process, (c) integrating these two?

- Participation: In states that claim to be developing participatory mechanisms, how are the roles, functions, and needs of participating publics handled, especially in terms of the above dimensions: span of action, information provided and generated, inter-group relationships, and competencies?

- Legislation and Guidelines: How is the functioning of the planning unit affected by the presence or absence of strict, prescriptive legislative or administrative mandates?

An appraisal of this order could provide an overview of state planning capabilities and identify planning needs. We would then be in a position to make better judgments about policies to strengthen state education agency units upon which devolve heavy responsibilities for planning the effective development of education.

C. Changing Conceptions of Planning Functions and Roles: An International Perspective

It is worth considering changing viewpoints in educational planning in countries having substantially more experience in this domain than the United States. Their experience can bring a fresh perspective to the questions now being raised in the states of this country where planning is in embryonic stages of development. Moreover, it may help us to distinguish the temporal from the continuing issues, the universal from the parochial.

For the past decade many "western" countries have participated in the country educational planning program of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).* Through this program, these countries have shared problems, experience, technical assistance; they have engaged in mutual evaluation of planning activities; they have supported research on various dimensions of educational planning. The initial motivation for this cooperative activity was a common concern for planning the expansion of formal educational systems to generate more schooled manpower to support economic growth. With this was coupled concern for efficiency of education and, increasingly, for equal educational opportunity. Each of these elements--growth, efficiency, equity--has undergone change in interpretation as planning experience cumulated in the 1960's. Problems have been reconceptualized and views of the planning process are changing.

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* Twenty countries signed the OECD Convention in Paris, December 1960. They were the countries of Western Europe (members of the antecedent organization, the OEEC--the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation), plus the United States and Canada. Japan and Finland later acquired full membership. Australia became a full Member this year (1973). All Member countries participate in the Country Educational Planning Program; Yugoslavia also participates in it as a special Member.

In the period 1960-1970 there is evidence of significant shifting in views of the context, the agenda, the process and the time perspective of planning.[38] In brief:

- Views of the context for educational planning are changing. Preoccupation with economic growth is giving way to a broader concern for "quality of life," with concomitant erosion of the growth-is-progress assumption in development planning generally and in educational planning.

- Views of the appropriate agenda of planning are changing. Quasi-exclusive emphasis in planning and research on 'para-educational' analysis (what goes in and what comes out of schools, but not the educating process) is increasingly seen as a necessary but not sufficient agenda. Increasing attention is being paid to processes of learning and innovation. What education, for what purposes, for whom, where, when, how?--these questions are pushing for attention alongside the how-much, how-many, what-cost preoccupations of much of the 1960's.

- Views of the appropriate time horizon and time perspective in planning are changing. Increasing attention is given to longer-term perspectives and to estimating the future consequences (negative as well as positive) of short-term planning.

- Views of the planning process and of the roles of professional planners are changing. The view that planning is a purely technical function appropriately performed by centralized experts is giving way to conceptions of the place of planning within the political decision-making process and reappraisal of the role of professionals in a process diffused among diverse publics of education.

The shifts in views quickly sketched above derive only partly from evolution in planning experience. Pressures external to the technical planning process have been a major influence. There is ample evidence, for example, that conventional assumptions about the nature and locus of planning in relation to decision-making have been and are being challenged by interest groups who insist on being included in processes which affect their future. In the late 1960's that challenge came to a head in several countries, generating crises which planning had not anticipated and was not prepared

to deal with. The crises were labeled: the "relevance crisis," reflecting dissatisfaction with formal education in the context of life in the emerging world; the "participation crisis," attesting dissatisfaction with decision-making processes wherein ends and means of education are shaped. The "relevance crisis" (education for what?) is, of course, intricately interwoven with the "participation crisis" (who shall decide?).

It has become clear in countries committed to planning that, if planning is to be a relevant guide to choice and action, it must satisfy at least three conditions. It must examine ends as well as means; it must be integrated in the decision-making process; and it must be open to participation by multiple publics in the polity of education.

Such conceptions of planning have major implications for the roles and styles of operation of those charged with developing the planning process. Nothing in the recent emphasis upon broad participation in planning denies that there are activities appropriately performed by a centralized group having certain specialized capabilities--at whatever level of government. Nevertheless, if we are seeking to create planning societies rather than planned societies, then the roles of the professionals charged with planning cannot be purely technical. They must be redefined. To the extent that the professional planner becomes a broker of the planning process then his activities and roles and the competencies he needs require reappraisal.

D. From Statewide Testing Legislation to Educational Policy Planning

We began this discussion by presenting a detailed analysis of a set of legislative acts in a small group of states. We leave it, for the present, with an emphasis upon development of the educational policy-planning process.

Legislatures are a part of traditional structures of decision-making. Yet legislation is a policy instrument which, while

addressing some substantive issue, can bring about changes in traditional decision structures. Thus, the legislation examined deals with issues of equity, efficiency and quality in education by providing for particular evaluation procedures and assigning responsibility for them. At the same time, many of the statutes affect decision structures by requiring new mechanisms for planning and participation.

The legislation is a valuable indicator of the salience of issues here and now. But neither the basic questions at issue nor the problems encountered in confronting them are unique to a small group of states that have enacted a particular kind of legislation.

The fundamental questions at issue are universal and continuing rather than parochial and transient. They concern what education is for, whom it is for, what form it shall take, where and when and how; they concern how to evaluate the effectiveness of schooling in this context and who shall be responsible for the evaluation and for its outcomes; and they concern who should make judgments about all these matters, on what basis, and by what means. In the complex and changing world in which we live, we cannot afford to deal with these issues in *ad hoc* fashion. There is a premium on devising effective policy planning processes in which these fundamental questions can be given continuing attention.

THE QUEST FOR BETTER SCHOOLS
Statewide Testing Legislation and Educational Policy
by
Maureen MacDonald Webster

FOOTNOTES

1. The COOPERATIVE ACCOUNTABILITY PROJECT (CAP) is financed through Title V, Section 505, of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and is administered through the State of Colorado. CAP is developing a comprehensive program for servicing the accountability needs facing state and local education agencies. Among other things, it provides a central source of information dealing with practices and procedures for developing and implementing accountability and/or assessment programs. This documentation is collected and analyzed at the State Educational Accountability Repository (SEAR), located in the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction. The texts of legislative acts, a primary source for the present paper, are recorded in CAP/SEAR publications: Legislation by the States: Accountability and Assessment in Education (Denver, Colo.: Cooperative Accountability Project, 1972). And Revised Version, April 1973. There is also available now a review of accountability legislation and proposed models for legislation: Phyllis Hawthorne, Characteristics of and Proposed Models for State Accountability Legislation (Denver, Colo.: Cooperative Accountability Project, April 1973).

2. A major supplementary source of information on testing/assessment programs is: Educational Testing Service and others, State Educational Assessment Programs (Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, September 1971). [Henceforth referred to as "the ETS Survey."] An updated survey of programs is in course of preparation (Spring 1973) with expected publication by Fall 1973.

3. Two sources, setting forth features of viable accountability/assessment programs are: (1) Sheila Krystal and Samuel Henrie, Educational Accountability and Evaluation, PREP Report No. 35 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, 1972). [This source clarifies processes inherent in an accountability system.] (2) Nancy L. Bruno, Paul B. Campbell, and William H. Schabacker, Statewide Assessment: Methods and Concerns (Princeton, N.J.: Center for Statewide Educational Assessment, Educational Testing Service, c.1972). [This source includes an elaboration of principles to guide successful assessment programs.] In practice, the term "assessment" is also used to refer to programs which fall short of the characteristics set forth in these two sources.

4. A 1967 survey of testing programs identifies 74 state testing programs in 42 states. Most of these were for student guidance. 17 states used tests to help evaluate instruction. 13 states used tests to assess student progress. See: Educational Testing Service, State Testing Programs: A Survey of Functions, Tests, Materials and Services (Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1968).

5. ETS 1971 Survey, p. xiii.

6. The New Jersey and Illinois participatory programs are described in two papers prepared for a Meeting on Participatory Planning in Education under the Program of Country Educational Planning of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, January 1972. (1) Bernard A. Kaplan, Developing a Participatory Process for Educational Planning: The New Jersey Experience (DAS/EID/72.41) (Paris: OECD, December 1972). (2) Thomas A. Olson, The Illinois Experiment in Participatory Planning (DAS/EID/72.40) (Paris: OECD, December 1972).

7. Based on a report in Education USA, March 1973.

8. Based upon examination of information in the ETS 1971 Survey.

9. Albert Shanker, "Below-grade Publicity About Reading Scores," New York Times, 25 March 1973.

10. Reported in Education USA, 4 December 1972.

11. Reported in Education USA, 21 September 1970.

12. Reported in Education USA, 16 April 1973, p. 182.

13. Reported in ECS Legislative Review, 14 May 1973, p. 4.

14. Reported in The Report on Education Research, 6 December 1972.

15. Reported in The Chronicle of Higher Education, 9 April 1973.

16. Reported in The Report on Education Research, 9 May 1973, p. 9.

17. Reported in The Report on Education Research, 1 February 1973.

18. See: Suing the Schools for Fraud: Issues and Legal Strategies. Transcript of a Conference: Fraud in the Schools--co-sponsored by the Educational Policy Research Center at Syracuse, the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, and the Educational Staff Seminar, Washington, D.C., March 9, 1973 (Syracuse, N.Y.: Educational Policy Research Center, SURC, 1973).

19. Ibid., p.71.

20. Reported in The Report on Education Research, 17 January 1973, p. 10.

21. National Education Association, Accountability and the Teacher. Briefing Memo (Washington, D.C.), No. 1, January 1973.

22. Derived from a listing of resolutions given in The New York Teacher, 18 March 1973.

23. Reported in The Report on Education Research, 14 February 1973.

24. Reported in Education USA, 16 April 1973, p.182, on the basis of information from Elaine Trudeau of the State-Federal Information Clearinghouse for Exceptional Children.

25. Reported in Education USA, 17 April 1972.

26. Reported in Education USA, 15 May 1972, on the basis of information from Nader attorney Donald Ross. ETS agreed to give full cooperation in this investigation of its activities.

27. Reported in The Report on Education Research, 22 November 1972.

28. Henry S. Dyer, Recycling the Problems in Testing. An address presented at the Invitational Conference on Testing Problems, New York City, October 28, 1972.

29. Wayne H. Holtzman (University of Texas), The Changing World of Mental Measurement. Presidential address of Division 5, presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Miami Beach, Florida, September 1970.

30. See also: Maureen M. Webster, Three Approaches to Educational Planning (Syracuse, N.Y.: Center for Development Education, March 1970), Occasional Paper No. 1, 60 + xxiii pages. Pp.4-6 discuss social influences on student achievement in the context of appraising the demand-for-places approach to educational planning; and Annex I, pp.ix-xiii, has a tabulation and bibliography on System Inputs and Process Variables Believed to be Related to Academic Performance (based on material prepared by Thomas Corcoran). A valuable review and synthesis of research findings on the effectiveness of schooling is available from RAND: Harvey A. Averch and others, How Effective is Schooling? A Report prepared for the President's Commission on School Finance (R-956-PCSF/RC) (Santa Monica, Cal.: RAND, March 1972).

31. The rejection of the "pool of ability" notion and of emphasis on genetic determinants of ability is clear in several policy-related documents and in research, particularly on equal educational opportunity, in the U.S. and many other countries. In Europe, for example, it is reflected in the work of the Robbins Commission on Higher Education in Great Britain, and in many documents produced through the program of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) from the 1961 Kungälv Conference on Ability and Educational Opportunity onwards.

32. Torsten Husen, ed., International Study of Achievement in Mathematics (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell; New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967). International Project for Evaluation of Educational Achievement, Hamburg. Vol. 1 explains purposes, procedures, testing instruments and administration of the research in 12 countries. Vol. 2 presents results of the mathematics achievement study, recounts problems and limitations, and outlines plans for the next phase of the evaluation project. For a brief account of subsequent research, see Douglas Pidgeon, "Current Research of the IEA," Comparative Education Review Vol. 13 No. 2 (1969): 213-216.

33. Many of the large-scale analyses use performance on norm-referenced tests as the index of student achievement--encountering the problems of interpretation and psychometric properties of these tests. This further underscores the ambivalence of the messages relayed by contemporary research to the world of decision-making.

34. Harvey A. Averch and others, How Effective Is Schooling? A Critical Review and Synthesis of Research Findings (R-956-PCSF/RC), (Santa Monica, Cal.: RAND, March 1972), p. 48.

35. This is a finding from analysis of data in the report by J. S. Coleman and others, Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Educational Statistics, USGPO, 1966).

36. Educational Quality Assessment, Phase II Findings. Data Analysis. (Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania State Department of Education, 1971), p. 34.

37. A 1971 survey, funded by USOE, was completed by Missouri State Department of Education, Planning and Evaluation Section--The Status of Comprehensive Planning and Application of System Analysis Concepts in Planning by State Departments of Education for F.Y. 1971. Jefferson City, Missouri, December 1971. 114 pages. Processed. Another survey of planning is being completed in 1973 by the New Jersey State Department of Education (Research, Planning, and Evaluation Division). Several useful additional documents are available, many of them from projects funded under Title V of ESEA. These include sets of documents from the Institute for State Education Agency Planners; the Seven State Project (B. S. Furse and L. O. Wright, eds., Comprehensive Planning in State Education Agencies); the Eight State Project (Designing Education for the

Future series); Improving State Leadership in Education Project, and others.

38. In-depth analysis and documentation of these shifts in views of planning is presented in Part One, "Educational Planning in the Sixties," of Maureen M. Webster, Educational Planning in Transition--Emerging Concerns and the Alternative Futures Perspective (Syracuse, N.Y.: Educational Policy Research Center, SURC, August 1971). For a summary of the major trends, see Maureen M. Webster, "Planning Educational Futures--Some Basic Questions," Journal of Educational Planning (Winter 1972).

Chapter Three

WHAT ARE SCHOOLS FOR?
The Issue of Minimal Skills

by

Naomi Rosh White

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

Within the past five years, increasing legislative attention has been directed to the issue of accountability. "Accountability" has been variously interpreted to apply to teacher evaluation, some form of systems accounting, or student evaluation as the means for ensuring that schools are meeting their responsibilities. This paper addresses some of the educational issues which impinge upon one form of accountability legislation--that mandating statewide testing as the means for assessing the "adequacy and efficiency" of schools.

The statewide testing which is mandated in legislation, and that which is occurring without legislation surfaces many complex patterns of operationalization. Common to these diverse patterns is an emphasis on minimal skills as the basis for assessing the adequacy and efficiency of schools.* The movement to statewide testing as an accountability tool, however, begs many of the controversial questions underlying the use of particular evaluation tools (standardized tests) as measures for achievement in the minimal skills (most frequently conceived as reading, writing, and arithmetic).

The 3R's represent only one way of understanding minimal skills. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that there are alternative conceptualizations of basic skills which have consequences

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* See Table 2.7, p. 78: "Operational Goals: Minimum Requirements Specified in Testing/Assessment Legislation." Appendix D: Educational Testing Service: Summary of the Statewide Testing Programs--mandated and non-mandated--which documents the current emphasis on the 3R's as the focus for evaluation.

for 1) the basis for identifying educational goals; 2) the viability of testing as a means of evaluating educational performance; 3) the agencies which can legitimately be held responsible for identifying and insuring possession of certain skills.

Two Meanings of "Minimal Skills"

Broadly speaking, minimal skills can be said to have two meanings. These meanings are not mutually exclusive, but represent differences in emphasis.

"Minimal" as "Prerequisite for Learning"

This usage is predicated on an ordinal or hierarchical notion of learning. That is, the student, in order to come to know certain things, must possess basic skills which will facilitate acquisition of further knowledge. These skills are necessary antecedents to cognitive activity, antecedents both temporally and logically.

It would seem to follow, then, that the appropriate perspective for exploring this interpretation of minimal skills would be cognitive and learning theories. These theories might provide evidence for what basic skills are, how one acquires them, and how one might test for them.

"Minimal" as "Necessary for Personal Efficacy"

This usage is predicated on the view that everyday existence requires of each person skills necessary for survival. That is, a person, in order to function effectively in the social environment, must possess certain skills. It further implies that one is fully a person only if one possesses these skills. The skills are necessary and sufficient for--personhood--self-actualization...whatever terms one cares to choose. This stands in marked contrast to the usage

described above, where the skills are necessary for learning, but not sufficient.

There is no necessary allusion to a temporal or ordinal sequence associated with the acquisition of "minimal skills" in this second sense. In practice, however, the acquisition of some minimal skills in the first sense might be logically and temporally prior to "minimal skills" in the second sense. The appropriate perspective for determining minimal skills for this meaning is social theory, as social theory helps describe the context for which these skills are intended. For the moment, it should be noted that there is considerable ambiguity as to the parameters or boundaries of this context, and therefore, the nature of the skills deemed to be sufficient. Are skills intended for survival in the concrete jungle of the inner city? Are they intended for survival both in the inner city and a different social or cultural milieu, namely, a predominantly middle-class environment?

Sometimes both meanings are ascribed to one set of minimal skills. In other words, one hears that the 3R's are necessary antecedents for further learning. One also hears that the 3R's are necessary for one to be a good citizen. One must be able to read signs, give the correct change and fill in taxation forms. But clearly, the latter represents a very limited view of the "good citizen." Both senses of "minimal skills" espouse a particular view of man, society and learning. The first sense does so implicitly, the second explicitly.

What does all this have to do with educational policy? Policymakers articulate a concern to make the schools accountable for student learning outcomes. One way they operationalize this concern is through legislation for statewide testing of minimal skills. Examination of this legislation raises questions as to the grounds on which 1) particular conceptions of basic skills were formulated, 2) the decision was made as to how the possession of these skills should be evaluated, and 3) *statewide, uniform* (v. locally determined, possibly diverse) skills were decided upon as appropriate.

In other words, in what sense are the skills basic? What are the justifications for this view? Why evaluate them in this way? The answers to these questions, as manifested in the legislation, have profound implications for who succeeds at school, and why they succeed. In other words, the means of dealing with learning outcomes carry with them implicit resolution of pedagogical and social issues. I plan to examine the implications of the statewide testing legislation with these concerns in mind.

PART TWO

MINIMAL SKILLS IN THE CONTEXT OF EDUCATIONAL THEORY: SOME ALTERNATIVES

This section describes the approaches of three cognitive theorists whose work directly addresses the issue of minimal skills. The first two, Gagné and Piaget, offer conceptualizations of minimal skills which are empirically validated alternatives to the notions espoused by some of the current legislation. Montessori, whose work will also briefly be described, addresses skills which she claims are prerequisites for even the minimal skills of reading, writing and arithmetic.

Gagné

Gagné, the first to be considered, is a prominent learning theorist.[1] His approach requires appraisal of each task to be performed in terms of hierarchies of prerequisite concepts and skills. If learning at any level is to occur with the greatest facility, careful attention must be paid to the prerequisites of such learning. The implications for what one considers "minimal skills" are quite clear.

> It will be difficult for the child to learn the definitions (principles) of geometry unless he has previously acquired the concepts of line, angle, triangle, intersection, and so on. It will be difficult for a learner to acquire the principles of any specific science unless he already knows some more basic principles of classifying, measuring, and inferring. It is demonstrably difficult for a learner to construct meaningful utterances in a foreign language unless he has learned the concept words that compose such communications; and it is difficult for him to learn these words unless he has previously learned to say the sounds of the language. Learning to read English

comes hard to those who have not first learned to speak many English words.[2]

It cannot be said that any of these "shortcut" kinds of learning are impossible. Nevertheless, Gagné claims that shortcuts carry their own handicaps, and typically result in deficiencies that show themselves as limitations in generalizability of the capabilities acquired.

"The fundamentals of instruction are not clearly conveyed by such expressions as 'reading, writing, and arithmetic'."[3] There are capabilities which cut across this formulation of basic skills. Two points emerge here. The first is that there are skills more "minimal" than the 3R's; the second, and more important point, is that there are ways of describing the skills necessary for any given task which may or may not place the 3R's within an array of important prerequisite skills. In subjects like mathematics and science, the most basic capabilities are to be found in the stimulus-response connections, chains, and concepts that make up the activities of observing, discriminating, drawing, and classifying, to name a few. They also are to be found in the activities which constitute problem-solving or critical thinking, minimal skills which stand apart from the 3R's.

Piaget

Piaget writes about the stages of cognitive development.[4] These stages constrain the sorts of learning activities the child may fruitfully engage in. Or, more correctly, the child may engage in nearly any activity, but the learning may differ markedly from what the adult would expect. Piaget's conception of cognition is of an ordinally emergent set of capacities or processes of thinking which vary qualitatively. This conception has consequences for both notions of minimal skills outlined earlier. For example, Piaget would claim that the child's language and thought are different from the adult's. He would also claim that the character of demands made by intellectual

tasks in adulthood is discontinuous with the character of demands in childhood.[5]

Piaget claims that chronological age is not a reliable indicator of cognitive stage. This has consequences for minimal skills conceived as prerequisites. Although stages are roughly equivalent to chronological age groupings, there are considerable variations within these groupings. So, at a given age level, children's cognitive structures differ. Therefore, the things which they can learn at a particular age level differ. Piaget recasts traditional conceptions of "minimal skills" to refer to thought processes rather than specific skills such as reading. The qualitative changes occurring with the development of thought processes, plus the chronological correlates of various stages of development speak directly to a reformulation of the goals of instruction--that is, to what one shall evaluate and the methods or tools to be used.

Piaget's work has implications for the use of standardized tests to measure the acquisition of any skills, tests which are referenced per chronological age group. Ginsburg and Opper write that Piaget's clinical method has shown that the child's initial verbal response (the type of response given to a standard test) is often superficial and does not provide a reliable index of the real quality of his understanding.[6] Moreover, the method of evaluation utilized by Piaget involves intensive one-to-one interviews which span a number of hours. This stands in marked contrast to mass evaluation techniques. Tests often tap only the surface, Piaget would argue, and they often test the wrong things. Questions of economy play a role in the determination of adequate evaluation tools. Piaget's method is time-consuming and costly. But a dilemma remains. How does one "price" the consequences of misused standardized tests?

Montessori

Montessori identifies three stages preparatory for academic learning. These are: motor education, sensory education, and

language education. By four years of age, children are typically ready to engage in activities pertinent to reading, writing and arithmetic. The latter are considered to constitute "academic" learning. Solveiga Miezitis, in her paper on the Montessori method, writes that presumably the child who has mastered the earlier stages is adequately coordinated, capable of ordered observations of the environment and sufficiently capable of the initiative, responsibility and cooperation required to approach the prescribed sequences involved in learning academic skills.[7] She continues to say that a meaningful evaluation of the effects of the Montessori method on cognitive functioning should include measures of cognitive style characteristics, in addition to general measures of intellectual functioning and more specific measures of achievement in the areas of perceptual, conceptual and language development. Miezitis is therefore making an argument for the assessment of characteristics which go beyond those of reading, writing and computational attainment.

There are many other views which could be presented. These three should suffice to indicate a range of alternatives to the 3R's conception of minimal skills which have consequences for what is taught and how it may be evaluated. In other words, the modes of evaluation chosen should be consistent with the theoretical underpinnings of the cluster of skills to be evaluated. Further, how one defines that cluster may vary with each theoretical system, and has consequences for what it is the schools are being held accountable.

PART THREE

TESTING AND ACCOUNTABILITY: SOME PROBLEMS AND ISSUES

The "Critical Age" Problem

The three theorists cited above indicate when and in which order the skills they consider basic may be acquired. The statewide testing legislation, in mandating tests in certain years, by default prescribes when these skills should be taught and attained. Mandating reading tests for accountability as early, in some states, as grade 1 (e.g., California) and in others, grade 3 (e.g., Arizona) then raises the further question as to the likelihood of the curriculum and instruction being modified to meet the outcomes sought by the tests, regardless of whether these outcomes are compatible with the best interests or current capabilities of the students.* The effect of tests on what is taught in schools was demonstrated with the perceived redirection of high school curricula to improve students' College Boards examination results.[8] The consequences of prescribing systematic testing programs, especially those which start in the early years of schooling, need to be carefully evaluated before such procedures are locked into place in legislation.

The practice of uniform testing appears to rest both on a lack of knowledge of the consequences of its inception, and on social and cognitive theoretical assumptions for which definitive empirical

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* Age and grade level are tightly correlated. Grade 1 age level is, on average, 6 years, for instance; grade 3, 8 years. The determination of students' best interests or current capabilities per age or stage depends on the theory of development espoused and the social perspective from which the student and school are viewed. In other words, developmental and school responsibility issues are being resolved without their being explicated.

verification has yet to be established. One of these assumptions has been explored by Rowher in his article "Prime Time for Education: Early Childhood or Adolescence."[9] He writes about the timing of demands made on students for learning particular contents and skills during specified periods of schooling. These demands may be justified by the notion of critical period (or age), as in the case of reading or language acquisition, or in terms of the presumption that the skill or content is prerequisite for some subsequent learning.[10] Either means of justification is defensible provided that it is demonstrably valid. The problem is that for many kinds of school learning, neither a critical period nor prerequisite status has been demonstrated empirically.[11]

The ambiguity in the notion of "critical age" has important consequences both for testing and the conceptions of schooling and minimal skills adopted. Reading instruction, for example, generally begins with the onset of formal schooling, usually at age six, and the child's progress in reading typically becomes the major criterion for judging both his success at school and the effectiveness of the school. One justification commonly articulated by proponents for teaching and testing the 3R's in the early grades rests on research evidence which suggests that the inability to read by grade three correlates highly with failure in the later years of schooling. The conclusion commonly drawn from this evidence is that third grade, or age eight is the critical age for the acquisition of reading, for instance. But this conclusion may not necessarily follow.

"Critical age," as indicated earlier, can mean two things. The first use refers to a predisposition or readiness on the part of the student which reaches its optimum at a particular chronological age. The implication here is that unless advantage is taken of this age, acquisition of the skill in question becomes difficult if not impossible. The "predispositional" sense of "critical age" represents a direct appeal to cognitive developmental theory. As indicated in the discussion of Piaget, Gagné and Montessori, there are within this domain varying conceptions of both "minimal skills" and

the potency of claims as to "critical age." None of the theories can be taken to be definitive, though each has generated substantial research and empirical verification. There is no compelling evidence that delaying the onset of reading instruction by one or several years would retard the rate at which skills are acquired.[12]

The second meaning which may be attributed to "critical age" relates not to characteristics of the student, but to structural characteristics of schooling. It is contingent upon a particular way of organizing learning and teaching. In other words, the second interpretation follows from the fact that after grade three, teaching becomes increasingly reliant on books, written reports and written tests, causing the inability to read and write to constitute a disadvantage. It then follows that "Age 8 is the 'critical age' for acquiring the 3R's." Given this interpretation, it is not surprising that research provides evidence to substantiate the claim that inability to read or write precludes success in higher grades.

The relevance of this distinction for educational policy is that the "predispositional" notion of "critical age" is not directly subject to policy decisions. It is a "given"--a characteristic of the population to be served. One cannot change the age at which predispositions occur for learning certain skills. The predispositional aspect of "critical age" is amenable to policy intervention only insofar as different theoretical perspectives result in differing pedagogical practices (so that a Montessori school might look different from a school based on Piagetian principles), and so on.* This then leads one to the second notion of "critical age," but it is not necessarily related to it.

The "prerequisite" notion of "critical age," on the other hand, *is* within the realm of educational policy, as it relates to decisions about the structure and substance of schooling. One could conceivably have a school structured so that there were no *necessary*

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* It would also follow that different evaluation procedures would also be appropriate or necessary.

prerequisites. Such a school could derive its organization from assumptions about the non-definability of the structure of knowledge, assumptions which are independent of developmental notions. Depending on the meaning of "critical age" one adopts, alternative policy strategies emerge. One of these is briefly described below.

There is no persuasive evidence that reading is the only means by which the student can acquire the other kinds of information that might be useful to learning during the first five years of schooling. Those involved with visual literacy would dispute the notion that the stimuli for cognitive activity are solely to be found in printed words. They point to an increased importance of film and television as educative devices. These devices could be used to foster non-literary communication and other skills whose attainment, depending on the conception of "minimal skills" one espoused, might be seen as desirable and appropriate.

In other words,

(a) if the notion of minimal skills as prerequisites to further learning is no longer so tightly tied to current practices of schooling (which includes the dominant conception of the 3R's as minimal skills), and

(b) if one accepts the utility of skills such as reading, writing and computation, and

(c) given the pressing concern for information about the outcomes of schooling,

one resolution might be to prescribe the assessment of these skills in the last two or three years of compulsory schooling. This would both allow for remedial treatment of those students who may have moved through the alternative system without acquiring certain skills and enable the school to fulfill its responsibility to these students. Assessment of whether the schools were "doing their job" would be tied to some positive compensatory means by which any shortcomings of the school would be directed at those for whom the

skills were deemed necessary. This would not preclude, and in fact might conceivably serve, to encourage the development or learning of other skills during these years.

Evidence exists to assuage the concern of those who may well say "I want the school to teach my children the 3R's." It is possible to teach these skills in later years. Examples of motivated teenagers and adults who have learned to read and write with intensive instructional programs lasting for six months have been cited in educational literature.* There is still, of course, the unanswered question of the nonschool-related costs for people who do not learn to read in the earlier years.

What if concern is expressed by parents about the lack of explicit attention to the 3R's in the earlier grades? Perhaps another means might be utilized for making available to parents and relevant agencies information relating to students' activities. This information might come in the form of teacher reports, in which the 3R's--or activities related to them--may or may not be included in the range of alternative activities for which student participation is required or demonstrated. Such reports would preserve a flexibility of curriculum and pedagogy while satisfying the responsibility for public accounting. If objectivity of reporting is a concern, procedures for validating teacher reports could be incorporated into the system. For instance, parents might be invited to participate in the evaluation. Local school district (and even state) personnel could be involved, as they are also being held accountable. This method does not lend itself to easy aggregation of data as is demanded by the accountability legislation, but it may have *educationally* beneficial

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* Paulo Freire in Pedagogy of the Oppressed has written of his experiences in Brazil, where he taught adult peasants to read and write within a very short space of time. George Dennison, in Lives of Children, recounts his success at teaching inner-city teenagers in New York City to read and write in a similarly short time. Note that both these men were operating in non-traditional educational structures. Dennison was operating from a store-front school, Freire in the homes of the peasants.

consequences whose priority might well be raised for discussion. For example, changing the evaluation procedures may enable experimentation with alternative conceptions of schooling based on syntheses of cognitive and social concerns. Furthermore, parents could participate in the planning and evaluation of schooling. This participation could perhaps be viewed as a form of adult education whose aim it is to solicit suggestions and to integrate parental demands for accountability into the process of rendering it. Hopefully, it would require relating the outcomes for which schools are being held accountable to the processes by which the schools ensure that the responsibility is being met.

The scenario briefly sketched above raises the following questions which ought to be addressed:

1) When are uniform standards necessary and beneficial, and when are they dysfunctional?

2) What is the balance to be achieved by schools between responsibility to the student and responsibility to the general public and parents?

3) What are the domains of student autonomy in decision-making relative to those of the teaching professionals and administrators?

These are difficult questions to answer. The scheme outlined above is one way in which reasonable boundaries for demands for performance imposed by agencies other than the individual teachers, schools, or school districts could be reconciled with the interests of the students.

The Instrument Problem

This section of the paper will focus on the implications of uniform statewide testing for the notion of basic skills one espouses with particular attention to the uses and abuses of testing.

Norm-Referenced Tests

The evaluation tools most frequently used for basic skills are

norm-referenced achievement tests. Norm-referenced tests show how students rank, following exposure to content, regarding the abilities reflected in the tests. The problems with these tests have been elaborated by many, at great length.

The most frequently cited problem is that the tests are culturally biased, favoring those children from white, middle-class backgrounds, and discriminating against others. In other words, the speaker of a non-standard dialect has special problems when taking standardized tests. Further, these special problems cause differential test performances by children of different ages and different linguistic backgrounds. Elsa Roberts outlines some of the areas of potential difficulty as being (1) the content of the test questions and expected responses, (2) the verbal style required by the test, and (3) the non-linguistic factors inherent in the testing situation.[13] Substantive biases in tests can include specific vocabulary items, culture specific photos used in vocabulary tests, as well as culture specific information questions. Vocabulary tests can work against children of a particular subgroup in that the object which the test word signifies, e.g., toboggan, can be outside the experience of such children, or the word, e.g., spectacles, itself can be different in the language system of the subgroup. By the same token, certain information questions can work against certain children.

The cultural bias of tests, with their resultant deselection of a portion of the population, focuses attention on a problem inherent in the use of test scores for accountability. Norm-referenced tests contain an ambiguity of purpose which is encapsulated in the term "achievement." As mentioned above, the tests are in part designed to predict future academic success. Future academic success in fact constitutes one of the validating criteria for such tests. "Achievement" here refers to student potential for achievement. On the other hand, tests rank students according to test scores, so that "achievement" might refer to a quantified statement of a student's achievement and relative status at a given point in time. "Achievement" here refers to a product. Future success and current achievement

correlate with a range of factors. Some of these fall within the domain of the school's sphere of interventive action--such as teaching method, classroom environment and so on; others, such as socio-economic factors, clearly do not. Accountability legislation, with its interest in *outcomes*, is effectively concerned with "achievement" as attainment at a given point in time. (That is, none of the legislation requires follow-up studies to determine the post-secondary success or fate of its students.) The appropriateness of the norm-referenced standardized test for providing this information rests on assumptions which are problematic. The broader issue relates to the grounds on which judgments are made regarding the standards which all students ought to achieve, and, consequently, for which the school ought to be accountable. The particular problem arises when the *tests* come to serve as the *standards* for that which ought to be achieved. The phenomenon of tests taking on the function of standards is a consequence of accountability legislation which assesses "the adequacy and efficiency of schools" in terms of the information the test provides. This represents a patent misuse of instruments not designed for this purpose.

If the concern for accountability stems from a concern for an equally distributed achievement of specified standards--a product--norm-referenced tests are substantively inadequate. Examination of the test items would yield few attempts to justify the view that the substance of these tests provides a desirable standard for student outcomes. This is hardly surprising, considering the intent of the instruments. Test items are samples of a range of possible items, chosen in part with a concern for content validity, but also determined by "statistical" criteria. That is, given content validity, does the test item differentiate between students, and between levels of difficulty per test item? The statistical (versus substantive) criterion is critical because the norm-referenced test is intended to differentially rank students. Thus, statistical considerations result in the inclusion of some items and the exclusion of others.

The choice of items for inclusion in the test relates the issue

of standards to that of the cultural bias of tests. Whose criteria for standards regarding substance ought to be utilized for assessing the "adequacy and efficiency" of schools? In other words, if the tool one uses to assess "the adequacy and efficiency of schools" consistently discriminates against a portion of the population due to criteria which in themselves are problematic, is one not unwittingly making discrimination a criterion for "adequacy"? It is important to note that the argu[illegible]ing made is not an argument against standards. It relates to the g[illegible]ds on which one may arrive at such standards, the purposes or goals these standards serve, and the mode of evaluation adopted.

What if the problem of identifying standards for communication skills, for instance, was resolved? Could norm-referenced tests be used for diagnostic purposes, e.g., one might link the evaluation very closely to instructional programs specifically attending to language difficulties. In this event, norm-referenced tests would be less appropriate evaluation tools than criterion-referenced tests.* Norm-referenced test results can provide only a comparative ranking of achievement scores. Mastery, or criterion-referenced tests are more suitable tools for the assessment of instruction. One may, and ought to, teach directly to a criterion-referenced test; this practice is clearly *not* appropriate for norm-referenced tests. Norm-referenced testing cannot directly address the question of instructional effectiveness, or of the "adequacy and effectiveness" of schools. That is, the tests, especially as they are being used for accountability, beg the question of school (versus other environmental factors) influence on achievement, relative to aptitude, and therefore, the extent to which schools can be held accountable for student achievement.

Norm-referenced tests are designed to indicate a spread of achievement or aptitudes. The tests are constructed so that the items are differentiated according to level of difficulty, and the resulting

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* These are described in greater detail on pages 175-176.

spread of scores is supposed to approximate a normal curve. The utility of these types of test results for accountability is further circumscribed. The emphasis on educational outcomes in the accountability legislation is not an attempt to maintain a spread of scores and, therefore, of achievement. The concern is to identify areas within which students achieve at specified levels. There is a certain ambiguity in the legislation, which leads to one of the curious paradoxes inherent in the use of norm-referenced tests for accountability. The paradox lies in the demand for student scores to be raised to the general norm.[14] If the child shows development that equals or exceeds the norm, it is assumed that he is learning satisfactorily. If he ranks below the norm, however, as half the students do, concern is expressed. But, to say that half of the students fall below their grade level in reading, for example, is merely to state a statistical constant. Because the grade level in reality is nothing but the norm for all students of an age who have been tested, it is inevitable that half will rank below that norm and half above. To get all students above the norm scores is a statistical and logical impossibility.

Prior experience with tests and test anxiety, also have to be recognized as factors affecting the reliability and validity of test scores. There are statistical procedures for correction of error and modifications in content to decrease bias; but these corrections do not eradicate the problems listed above. Moreover, knowledge of test results has been shown to modify teacher expectations of student performance, leading to adjustments in teaching to parallel the child's supposed ability (as documented in the studies on self-fulfilling prophecies and achievement). Test scores cannot be viewed as hard data gathered by instruments with absolute precision and accuracy. The scores at best are approximations of a spread of performances on skills whose identification beyond the actual test item is problematic. Test scores, when sensitively used, can yield information to guide teaching practice. A "wholesale approach" to testing, however, ignores social costs which should be taken into consideration.

The most pressing question is, what do the tests really measure? What does reading at the third or ninth grade level signify? As noted earlier, Piaget's work indicated that all one could expect of test results and responses was that they would yield superficial information. Test constructors themselves will often only go so far as to say "tests measure what tests measure," indicating that construct validity is an unresolved issue. This suggests a further question which requires stepping back from the *tool* to ask *under what conditions should the particular skills measured by the tests be utilized for accountability. It is to this question that the outline of alternative notions of basic skills is addressed.*

Criterion-Referenced Achievement Tests

Criterion-referenced tests focus on what an individual has learned, not on how he stands in comparison to other testees. Criterion-referenced tests claim to measure an absolute level of achievement over a specified content. The function of the test is to indicate modifications in instruction which might lead the student to reach the level of mastery required by the program objectives. It is this emphasis on program effectiveness which makes this test an accountability tool.

An example of a commonly employed criterion-referenced test is a driving test. The component skills for driving are listed--backing, parking and stopping at red lights, to name a few--and mastery of each of these must be demonstrated by the testee in order for a license to be granted. Driving is a relatively finite skill with identifiable components. Social studies or science, on the other hand, are less amenable to such compartmentalization.

Criterion-referenced tests are increasingly being used for accountability purposes (e.g., Hawaii, Florida). But they carry with them assumptions as to the boundaries of subject matter, and conceptions of knowledge as "product" rather than "process," which are necessarily incomplete or inaccurate. For example, how would one construct a criterion-referenced test to adequately indicate mastery of

"citizenship," or social studies? The former constitutes a domain which may not be amenable to "testing" as currently conceived; the definition of the realm of the latter represents a major intellectual problem covering issues of methodology and history at the very least. How would controversy as to the adequate boundaries and component parts for the areas covered by these tests be resolved? Who should or could decide these things? The uncritical use of criterion-referenced tests may result in fragmentation of educational outcomes on largely arbitrary criteria. This has implications for the structure of the curriculum and for pedagogy--implications for what schools do. The question which ought to be addressed is: for what domains and under what conditions do criterion-referenced tests provide information directly relevant to accountability concerns?

Models for measuring differences among competing programs using criterion-referenced measures have not yet been developed. Comparability of, and consensus about objectives (especially in vaguely defined domains such as in social studies) and validity of items testing for these objectives are problems central to establishing content validity for criterion-referenced tests, and have consequences for their use as accountability tools. The procedures used for norm-referenced tests are dysfunctional for the criterion tests because of their differing purposes. Procedures for standardizing criterion-referenced tests have not yet been established. If local determination of objectives and evaluation procedures comes into effect, and criterion-referenced tests are used, this methodological lacuna will make inter-district comparisons rather difficult.

The issues relating to the use of criterion-referenced tests require consideration of the second sense of minimal skills. The "survival" or "social" conception of minimal skills provides alternative frames of reference for determining the boundaries and components of that which might be tested.

PART FOUR

"MINIMAL SKILLS" FROM A SOCIAL PERSPECTIVE

When one addresses the issue of "minimal skills" from a social perspective, one is raising three questions. First, what is the nature of the society for which these skills are intended? Second, what are the "minimal skills" necessary for effective functioning in this society? Third, which, if any, of these "minimal skills" is it the responsibility of the school to foster? With the attempt to answer each of these questions, insofar as an "answer" can be provided, a plethora of problems pertaining to relevant parameters of investigation arises. Each attempt must, for example, contain particular ideological biases or normative stances, for that is the character of interpretation. Frequently, the descriptions of "how things are" derive from assumptions as to "how things ought to be." Such descriptions are contentious and open to debate. The range of assumptions about the degree to which definitive agreement on, or verification of "answers" is necessary or possible may have contributed to the less frequent attention to these concerns which have fundamental import for education. The difficulty of resolving the methodological issues may have constituted another hindrance. Most likely, however, is the fact that these concerns are politically explosive, and consequently are set aside for "specialists" rather than public debate.

That is *not* to say that similar problems, relating to choice of the operative *developmental* theory on which to base schooling, do not arise. They do, but they are more effectively draped in the robes of scientific expertise, blurring the issues of ideology which surface with any discussion of the social purpose of "minimal skills." It is my contention, however, that the developmental

theories provide us with a building structure; the structure is necessary, but not sufficient. The social issues turn the steel skeleton into a school-in-context, with a decor and style which give the school its identity--set in a particular time and place. Consideration of these social issues, complicated though they may be, is necessary for any adequate examination of the goals, functions and limits of schooling--for determining those skills for which the school is to be held accountable.

The Society For Which the "Minimal Skills" Are Intended

The choice of dimensions for an account of the times in which we live is problematic, to say the least. It is my purpose simply to surface for discussion some of the pervasive themes which may be said to relate to the issue of "minimal skills," and ultimately to the purposes, goals or functions of schooling. These themes address dominating ideologies and structural characteristics of the society, and have consequences for how one conceives the domains for which the individual and the school have responsibility.

It has been said that we live in a time of urbanization, bureaucratization, and rampant technology. Traditional ties such as the family are weakening, as are the customary restraints and sanctions for behavior which previously were informally enforced. Formal codification of norms by laws, together with the flourishing of bureaucracies which facilitate centralized decision-making (for the masses by elites) fosters a sense of apathy deriving from impotence. The market paradigm encourages the development of competitive, individualistic priorities in the face of disintegrating traditional sources of shared meanings and ideals. The result is rule by technique, a preponderance of concern with means, rather than the ends which these means are to serve. The picture which emerges is of a fragmented society characterized by chaotic dissensus. The repeated assertions of dissensus are of critical importance to both the politics of decision-making for education and to the substantive and organizational issues pertaining to schools. These claims about dissensus

encompass the questions as to whether schools are simply preparatory training centers for the labor market; whether they are institutionalized means of keeping youth *out* of the labor market; whether they are the means by which a society's dominant beliefs and culture are transmitted; or whether schools are the vehicles for oppression and cultural domination. These variations in ascription of the functions of schooling rest on a diversity of beliefs and priorities, a pluralism which characterizes the United States today.

What does one mean by pluralism? Thomas Green makes a distinction between "pluralism" as an ideal or a particular constellation of values, and "pluralism" as a social reality made manifest in the social structure.[15] Utilizing Cooley's distinction between primary and secondary associations or relations, he constructs three models of pluralism.* These models are "insular pluralism," "half-way pluralism," and "structural assimilation." They describe a continuum from societal fragmentation or "pluralism," to societal integration or "homogeneity."

"Insular pluralism" is characterized by the maintenance of both primary and secondary associations within one group. The Amish are an example of such an insular community.

"Half-way pluralism" is the type in which primary associations are determined by relevant in-group characteristics, such as religion or race. Secondary associations occur across groups, so that one's job associations or other formal relations extend beyond one's ethnic group.

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* Primary relations are those in which we are placed in intimate, face-to-face, personal, and informal relations with others. They usually involve the whole personality rather than the fulfillment of functions...

Secondary associations, by contrast, are those in which our relations are casual, frequently functional, and usually not face-to-face. They tend to be formal and do not involve the whole personality. (Green, p. 12)

Finally, with "structural assimilation," both primary and secondary associations occur across all groups so that one might find interfaith marriage, as well as extensive intermingling on the job. In other words, ethnic or other differences do not disappear--they are simply considered to be irrelevant to any particular concern.* In some ways, the testing movement heralds a de-emphasis of "relevant" differences in favor of universally prescribed operational similarities.

Pluralism as an ideal or reality provides an inadequate account of the social context, however. Mannheim writes that in every society there is a generally accepted interpretation of reality. He refers to this as the "reality level." "It is a sociological fact that public thinking unconsciously establishes such reality levels, and a society is only integrated if its members roughly agree on a certain ontological order."[16] He rejects the adequacy of the market liberal's view of individualism for the social demands of coexistence and integration. The "reality" he proposes is democracy. "Democratic society...develops a level below which no citizen should fall... Democracy essentially admits competing reality levels to the realm of discussion, and adjusts these reality levels through communication, living contacts, exchange of ideas, development of common rituals." [17] In other words, a democratic system allows for the coexistence of diverse beliefs and priorities while providing the consensual framework

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* It appears at first glance that "structural assimilation" is simply "insular pluralism" writ large. Both models are characterized by the integration of primary and secondary associations. "Structural assimilation" contains an ambiguity which contributes to this difficulty of distinguishing between the two models. On the one hand, "structural assimilation" does not imply the necessity of any shared meanings or ideology. No notion of "community" is associated with this model. On the other hand, "structural assimilation" implies a "homogeneity of *relevant* characteristics." The homogeneity of *relevance* implies consensus regarding the criteria determining what these characteristics might be--a consensus which is similar to Mannheim's "reality level," or a sense of "community." "Insular pluralism" is characterized by both a sense of community, and the occurrence of primary and secondary associations within the one group. ("Structural assimilation" is characterized by associations occurring *across* groups.)

within which any conflicts may be resolved. The resolution Mannheim offers is a reaffirmation of a basic American tenet.

The persistent, countervailing thrusts toward homogeneity and diversity constitute a policy-relevant concern. They are policy-relevant both in their effects on the process by which decisions are made and their effects on the substance of the decisions made. The tension may be characterized as being between diversity as ideal or reality in a time of flux and change, and the integrative consensus or homogeneity necessary for society. This issue underlies the political sensitivity of attempts to broaden the operational meaning of "minimal skills" in schools.

Two Conceptions of the "Minimal Skills" Necessary For Effective Functioning in Society: Dewey and Freire

> If men are unable to perceive critically the themes of their time, and thus to intervene actively in reality, they are carried along in the wake of change. They see that the times are changing, but they are submerged in that change and so cannot discern its dramatic significance. And a society beginning to move from one epoch to another requires the development of an especially flexible, critical spirit. Lacking such a spirit, men cannot perceive the marked contradictions which occur in society as emerging values in search of affirmation and fulfillment clash with earlier values seeking self-preservation... Contradictions increase between the ways of being, understanding, behaving, and valuing which belong to yesterday and other ways of perceiving and valuing which announce the future... In such a phase man needs more than ever to be integrated with his reality.[18] [Emphasis added]
> (Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness, pp. 7-8.)

The themes of social change, flux and diversity are common enough. The pervasiveness of these ideas would seem to warrant speculation as to both the role of schooling in such a society and the skills which are necessary for effective functioning within it. Freire, for instance, has some clear notions of "minimal skills." He writes

about the capacity for "cultural action," or the ability to engage in evaluative social activity; he writes about "praxis," by which he means the integration of action and reflection. "Minimal skills" here are predicated on a well articulated notion of "education" rather than "schooling." Freire's idea of the "educated man" is one who acts on and in his environment, who engages in the process of developing his world. The outcomes sought are ongoing and dynamic. Their assessment, needless to say, is beyond the purview of existing standarized tests.

If one puts aside the specifically revolutionary intent of Freire's work and relates it to the writing of Dewey, for instance, commonalities in pedagogical procedure and purpose emerge. Recommendations for "problem-posing" education or "problematizing" and "authentic dialogue" between teacher and learner span both works. Dewey also casts his educational philosophy and recommendations in the context of a political or social ideal--democracy--and seeks pedagogical methods compatible with that ideal. For instance, he writes that "the educational process is one of continual reorganization, of reconstructing and transforming"; of the necessity for "an actual empirical situation as the initiating phase of thought"; that democracy is "a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience."[19] His writing contains the same rhetoric of self-determination and active participation as does Freire's.

One critical difference between Dewey and Freire, however, is that the former operationally constrains his prescriptions for education to "schooling." Schools have traditionally been conceived as institutions whose function it is, among other things, to transmit the "dominant" beliefs of the society they serve. Dewey lists cultural transmission as one of the primary responsibilities of schools. Freire, on the other hand, alerts one to the potentially oppressive nature of acculturation as a non-dialectical process. The difference between the two approaches is significant. Both men are concerned with "personal efficacy"; both men conceive of "personal efficacy" as occurring within, and being actively directed toward the social

environment. Freire, however, stops short of describing the "reality level," or the society which results from or provides the conditions for his idea of "education." That is, what might or ought this consensual environment look like? Dewey directly addresses this problem by outlining his conception of "democracy." He pursues the pedagogical implications of this notion in his recommendations that the schools replicate the democratic processes. The "minimal skills" for Dewey are these democratic, "action" skills. To the extent that Dewey specifies the sort of society for which these skills are intended, and requires replication of some aspects of this society by the schools, to that extent he is concerned with cultural transmission.

One can relate the notions of "minimal skills" sketched above to Green's notions of "half-way pluralism" or "insular pluralism." The consequences of either notion of pluralism for the substance and form of education may be characterized as follows. One finds on the one hand that "personal efficacy" might be based on a concern for adaptability--which implies not integration, but conformity. In this instance one can talk, for example, about adopting certain white middle-class role skills ("minimal skills") in order to succeed in secondary relations, without relinquishing other, non-white non-middle-class core values for primary relations. This is consistent with the notion of "half-way pluralism." On the other hand, there is the concern for an identity of value, action, and intent, which implies not conformity with partial commitment, but a holistic integration--Freire's "praxis" and "cultural action." This second interpretation of "personal efficacy" may imply an "insular pluralism" as its ideal.* That is, the "personal efficacy" sense of "minimal skills" here rests in part on an integration of the primary and secondary relations. The environment for which the skills are intended becomes a "community" of shared and changing meanings which enables the "whole man" to be involved in both types of relations. The practical and ethical

* This is not to say that Freire would support "insular pluralism" as an ideal. Clearly, he would not. The ideal of holistic integration, however, may be said to be consistent with the notion of "insular pluralism."

problems then become respectively the realizability and desirability of such a "community" in a society such as 20th century United States.

The Schools and "Minimal Skills for Personal Efficacy"

The issue of the school's responsibility for "minimal skills for personal efficacy" requires that the politically sensitive issues raised in the preceding sections be translated into public policy. Such a translation depends in part on the viability or operational redefinition of community in our times. Further, it rests on the extent to which it is considered appropriate or desirable that public policy intervene in those concerns which have been traditionally left to private determination--that is, whether public policy may intervene in the processes and outcomes of primary associations--for example, the family. The public-private dichotomy provides the framework for the discussion which follows.

Essentially, the problem may be said to be the following: under what conditions is the individual (or the individual together with his "primary associates") the proper source for determining the nature of his political or social obligation; or when is the State the proper source? More important, perhaps, is the question as to under what conditions, and for which particular decisions, are both the State and the individual the proper sources for such determination. The issue is a recurring philosophical problem. It needs to be readdressed in each era, however; and ours is no exception. To follow through on the discussion thus far, if one accepts Mannheim's notion of the necessity of a consensual framework, and identifies it as "democracy," then an ideal and practice to which all citizens must be committed has effectively been identified. It is "necessary" for society's functioning in the same way as is the labor force, for instance. Just as one asks (and the schools have in practice answered) the question: is it the responsibility of the school to foster the "minimal skills" (however defined), for participation in the labor force, one must ask: *is it the school's responsibility to foster the "minimal skills" necessary for the continuation of a democratic society?*

In other words, democracy has been proposed as a social, public ideal and necessity. Does the responsibility for teaching the skills for this public ideal and practice belong to the "public" institution for education--the school? This issue is critical and fundamental to "minimal skills" viewed from a social perspective.*

If one applies, admittedly rather crudely, these conceptions of "minimal skills" and "pluralism" to the social and political realities of the United States today, one finds evidence of the dilemmas outlined being played out on the educational stage. One manifestation is a tension between the traditional "public" state and federal responsibility for education and general welfare, and the pressure for "private" determination of school procedure and of content, which might be translated as parent-teacher collaboration on issues of schooling.

The current debate about the realm of "schooling" and the "minimal skills" encompasses an indecision about which notion of plurality is to be espoused as the ideal--namely "half-way pluralism" or "structural assimilation." Reference to both ideals can be discerned in the debates about the control of schools.

Some proponents of local control base their arguments on assumptions pertaining to the desirability or the moral necessity of maintaining certain group differences. Some notion of "half-way pluralism" could be seen to constitute the framework for such a view. Namely, if schooling is viewed as an institutionalized, formal extension of the primary group (for example, the family), and its ascribed function is to maintain and foster the priorities which are

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* The complexities of the notion of democracy as they relate to the "public-private" distinction have intentionally been omitted here. Operational and theoretical issues pertaining to the integration of individual or group rights with general welfare, for instance, are directly relevant to the question of public policy for education. The aim of this paper is to raise some of the issues. Detailed analysis of these is subject matter for a further paper.

consistent with the milieu in which it is located, local control of schooling would seem necessary.

The proponents of centralized decision-making argue for an equality of educational opportunity which disregards different interpretations of achievement and emphasizes uniform student outcomes. This view is contained in the legislation for statewide testing. It is consistent with the lack of concern for differences which characterizes "structural assimilation." The locus of educational decision-making is ideologically irrelevant, as is the fostering of alternatives to schooling. A question then remains for policy-makers. Under which conditions do these ideals need to be reconciled?

In other words, on what grounds can one make a case for federal and state responsibility for education? One has the historical, pragmatic reality--the fact of a publicly funded, institutionalized system whose purpose it is to teach those between the ages of 5 through 18 years. This system includes schools, local, state and federal education agencies as well as various professional associations. Some of the agencies have primarily coordinating and policy-making functions; others primarily the teaching function. One also has the strongly democratic principles which constitute the ideology on which the United States is founded, with one of the corollaries being the control of public education by the public. Of course, the agencies above are said to serve as representatives of the public interest. The problem in practice derives from the disjunction between the principles contained by the ideology, and the possibilities for action provided by the existing administrative structures. One of the consequences of bureaucratization is the effective neutralization of externally initiated acts whose realization depends on progressive movement through the organization's decision-making channels. In a situation such as this, "public" control of education takes on a rather narrowly circumscribed meaning.

It is here that the problem of the legitimate parameters of "responsibility" may need to be explicated and examined in relation to

the criteria chosen to define the "adequacy" of schools. Are schools to be deemed adequate if they teach "social" as well as "cognitive" skills? In other words, should one of the criteria for "adequacy" be attention by the schools to the "democratic values"? Local determination of the objectives of schooling raises the possibility of alternative conceptions of skills necessary for effective functioning in varying conceptions of society, with the accompanying claim that it is the school's responsibility to teach these skills.

The criteria for determining the adequacy and functions of schools may change or vary considerably, depending on the administrative level on which these formulations of criteria are made. (A movement such as uniform, statewide testing, for instance, would be seen as one thrust which makes such diversity difficult.) One might ask, for example, whether the skills specified by state agencies as necessary for effective functioning are compatible with the milieu which provides the "real" setting for the school and its students. There may be other skills, which are seen as equally crucial for "personal efficacy" for which the community demands the school be responsible. One example for a "minimal skill" other than the 3R's might be self-defense skills, another, consumer skills; or to use "skill" more loosely--knowledge about drugs. In defining "minimal skills" as the 3R's, the danger is the sanctification of one conception at the expense of others which may have equal legitimacy as the primary responsibility of the school. The further issue which should then be addressed is whether the skills taught, the objectives of the school, ought in all cases be compatible with the demands of those who attend it. The question being raised is whose goals should be taken as the goals of education. Under what conditions can pluralism be encouraged and strengthened, and under what conditions would such diversity so fragment the larger society that anarchy rather than functional synthesis would result? As indicated earlier in the discussion of the necessity of a "reality level" beyond individual priorities or desires, the school in some instances might have a responsibility to contravene individual or local expectations--and the state to

contravene local school expectations.*

Accountability legislation articulates a concern about the "adequacy and efficiency" of schools. This concern might include some provision for addressing the range of conceptions and criteria available for such an evaluation.

The Assessment Issue

What would it mean then to implement an educational system which was consistent with the "personal efficacy" conception of minimal skills, given the realities of the constraints imposed by the current pressure for an accounting of outcomes and the nature of American society? How would one talk about outcomes in a system which deals primarily with process? It would seem that the starting point is with what one recognizes as legitimately constituting assessment. Assessment, as operationalized in the recently enacted legislation, primarily utilizes the standardized test as its tool. In some states there is concurrent collection of demographic data, but the use of this data is as a correlate of the results on the essential test criterion. The evaluation is *instrument*-bound. It is bound in yet another way. Assessment, or the demand for information about the outcomes of schooling for accountability is tied to a particular *time*--that time in which the student is at school. The assumptions on which this constraint rests are problematic, at the very least. For

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* To return to the legislation, it is clear that little debate would occur about the necessity of skills such as reading, writing and arithmetic. However, there may be debate about *how* these skills are taught and how one defines what they are. The subject-matter or examples used may be viewed as misrepresentations of the range of experiences available to the students. Where compulsory testing extends to other content areas, choice of perspective and emphasis becomes more problematic. American history, for example, could be rewritten to show that revolution and insurrection is necessary for progress and the attainment of civil rights. This is an interpretation rarely represented in the history books or texts, and one can easily guess why. Furthermore, traditional conceptions of the contributions and history of various racial and ethnic groups in the United States are currently being challenged.

example, is education, no less learning, being reduced to mean the retention of skills between the ages of 6 and 18 years? It would seem that the outcomes of schooling relate to activities and skills which are made manifest for a reasonable length of time beyond the completion of 12th grade.* Leaving aside for the moment the extremely complex problem of explicating the criteria by which one might identify these activities, and of establishing correlational links between particular school activities and later behavior, an alternative notion of assessment suggests itself.

What if assessment were understood to be a longitudinal process which allowed for collection of data over time--for example over a period of ten years after completion of schooling?

What if an "action"-based conception of outcomes were espoused--such as the one explored by Freire and Dewey--and criteria for selection were formulated?

What if samples of the population were requested to periodically respond to either questionnaires which related to the outcomes cited above, or to participate in interviews, in order to provide some descriptive data?

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* The contradiction of using tests for the purpose of evaluating the effects of schooling after its completion become apparent in programs with even such carefully circumscribed parameters as the National Assessment of Educational Progress. NAEP uses the census model to test young adults, aged 26 to 35 years for retention of facts which should have been learned at school. There is an attempt to include an "action" component via for example, a self-report of "civic activities" or science interests. If one applies the second notion of "minimal skills" as "necessary for personal efficacy" to this program, one could make the argument (which stands apart from other issues relating to the retention model which underlies the NAEP) that if those skills or knowledge which are being tested for are *not* retained or applied, they are in fact *not necessary*, and testing for them is to test for irrelevant concerns. In other words, rather than the knowledge or objectives being the standards or criteria for citizenship, writing or science, the nature of the responses become indicators of the necessity of these objectives for survival.

This last speculation raises a very sensitive issue--the dilemma of the privacy to which each individual is entitled, on the one hand; on the other, the concern for assessing the extent to which the goal of providing for each student the potentiality for self-determination has been met. Forced to its limits, the last speculation takes on the aura of an inquisition. This raises a central problem contained in this conception of "minimal skills." Because one is dealing with moral and value questions--which are the proper domain of "education"--the problems of assessment force consideration of the distinction between "education" and the outcomes of "schooling," appropriate methods of dealing with these, and most importantly, the propriety of assessing them.

A further methodological issue must be addressed. The effort to quantify data is incompatible with the notion of "minimal skills" for personal efficacy. The survey technique described above is designed to provide quantified data. As such, it does not differ significantly from the standardized tests whose utility I have discounted. It differs only in the rigor with which the information is collected and scored. This sense of "minimal skills," with its concern for self-actualization, requires that the individual's own conception of the past, present and future be taken into account.* The skills being assessed cannot be satisfactorily defined a priori. They cannot be described by stipulative or strictly contingent definitions. If they could be, the scientistic ethos contained in tests might be entirely appropriate. The assessment issue therefore remains unsatisfactorily resolved.

What is needed is a technique which combines "observer" or investigator categories with "inner" or "subject-generated" categories,

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* It seems that the incompatibility of the skills being sought with the quantifiability of the data provided by surveys or tests rests on a paradigmatic (in Kuhn's sense) difference which can be illustrated by the rules of evidence which apply to the biographer and those which apply to the scientist. The biographical historical mode is appropriate as an answer to the question of identity to which this sense of "minimal skills" applies.

for when one talks about "personal efficacy" and "survival" one is making strong allusions to self-definition. One such mode of analysis whose conceptualization, philosophical assumptions and methodology are consistent with the social conceptions of "minimal skills" is participant observation.[20] It provides the means for studying human meanings and social action as they are revealed in the context of society. It requires of the participant observer to see the goals and interests of people in the same way that the people see them, to see people in the concrete reality in which they present themselves in daily experiences; and to sense that people act freely within the scope of what they see as the possible, not as determined agents of social forces as the traditional empiricists would see them.[21] It is evident that this technique is based on the same assumptions of self-determination and action as the skills which it might assess or describe--skills which do not lend themselves to meaningful quantification. Participant observation has its roots in Max Weber's formulation of the methodology of "verstehen." It represents a synthesis of anthropological, sociological and literary techniques which have been widely utilized in studies of social phenomena.

It is clearly beyond the scope of this paper to explore in any detail the methodological problems, feasibility and consequences of utilizing such a technique. It is simply suggested as one possibility whose viability might be discussed. One could certainly imagine community or district studies being undertaken. Prior to these, though, there would be a need to resolve a methodological issue pertaining to the grounds on which one would or could relate the manifestation of the skill one was studying to the process of "schooling." If it were decided, for instance, that the "personal efficacy" skills were the responsibility of the school, perhaps it would be necessary to have participant observers in the schools also, in order to obtain some information about the *processes* of schooling which lend themselves to action and self-determination by students. One could imagine political pressures for and against such a procedure of evaluation. Moreover, the questions of evidence and criteria for evidence would have to be explored. How would one *know* whether someone is "personally efficacious"?

Would self-description or evaluation suffice? Would observer criteria need to be introduced? The question relates both to theoretical or conceptual concerns, as well as to ones of methodology. And finally, the issue of the right to privacy would need to be addressed in relation to the ideal of protecting each individual's right to an education, as well as the concern to assess that education's outcomes. This last issue is perhaps the most critical and difficult of all.

The Technicist Ethos

As noted above, the school might be viewed an an institutionalized transmitter of many of the myths for modern society. These myths pertain to the existence of institutionalized, and therefore non-controllable values, the quantifiability of attitudes and cognition, the fragmentability of knowledge, as exemplified in the school curriculum and tests, and finally, the myth of expertise--that one person's judgment may determine what and when another person must learn.[22] These notions are consistent with, and serve to legitimate, a focus on means and techniques at the expense of explicit consideration of ends or goals. The preoccupation with techniques is the defining characteristic of the technicist ethos. Some of the recent accountability legislation operationalizes the "adequacy of schools" in terms of a technique--the standardized test (or management techniques)* rather than in terms of the possible or desirable functions of schooling in our society.[23] The problem is that techniques implicitly preclude consideration of a wide range of alternative goals.[24] The "survival" sense of minimal skills explicitly addresses the function of education in a given social context. Articulation of goals is part of this formulation of minimal skills and, in a sense, determines how one defines them. Mandated tests for the 3R's resolve questions pertaining to the functions of schooling without addressing them directly.

The legislation on statewide testing and accountability can be divided into two patterns. One is the state-mandated uniform testing and uniform conceptions of minimal skills; the other is the permissive

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* See Appendix E (Table 3.1): Legislation for Educational Management Methods.

legislation for local determination of objectives. The second pattern does require confrontation with the technicist mode because it involves, at least in principle, consideration of goals.

PART FIVE

CONCLUSION

The use of standardized tests represents an attempt to provide systematic data on the outcomes of schooling. The school's responsibility, as indicated by the recent legislation, has shifted to the learning outcomes of students. The concern is to provide a basis for evaluating the extent to which schools are executing their responsibilities. This emphasis on outcomes is in part attributable to a search for educational equality. It may also, from the state government's perspective, provide a workable focus for a large, rather cumbersome educational system with many "inputs" and many "clients." Techniques for mass measurement abound, and in an age of computerized data collection, the task of comparing such results becomes easier. The complexity of the educational system, the accessibility of technical facilities, and the mounting pressures for accountability all may have contributed to educational outcomes being operationalized as test results on uniformly conceived and prescribed minimal skills. The attention currently being directed toward the issue of accountability by the lay public, professional educators and state legislatures, together with the moves to incorporate the means by which this accountability might be assessed in legislation, makes opportune the examination of issues which have a bearing on the sorts of decisions made. These issues have to do with the way accountability is defined, the domain to which it is said to apply, and the means by which it is assessed. The preceding analysis addressed some of the implications of introducing into accountability legislation requirements for the teaching of basic skills whose nature and evaluation is specified by that legislation.

Clearly, test results provide inadequate information about the success or failure of schools. The problems of test measurement of

achievement and aptitude, and the limited utility of test results for evaluation of the efficacy of schools have been frequently brought to public attention. The recent legislation seems to ignore the controversies generated by abuses of other test scores in the past.[25] Despite equally strong warnings from testing professionals about the constraints governing the correct use of standardized tests, statewide testing legislation for accountability has been passed, heralding another cycle of potential test abuse.[26]

Moreover, if this legislation acts as a model for what schooling might be, the model, as it now stands, needs careful evaluation, as the primary teaching function of schools has in effect been defined. Henry David, executive secretary, Behavioral Sciences Division, National Academy of Science, National Research Council, was quoted in the March 1973 NAEP Bulletin as cautioning against the "normative considerations and judgments" involved in assessment. He said that these occur in the specifications of objectives and decisions about acceptability of responses. "We are likely to become the victims of over-processed data," said David. "One likely consequence is to derive an image of what the schools should do, are doing, could do better, should not be undertaking." Such an image would represent "powerful restraints" on our own imagination in dealing with education. Some of the legislation might indicate that the traditional expectations of schools have indeed not been reexamined in terms of the insights provided by learning theory and a social perspective.

The current legislation locks into place accountability mechanisms which are unclear both as to which of the two notions of "minimal skills" are being addressed, and the consequences of intervention regarding either notion. The consequences of intervention relate to the legitimate locus of authority and control of educational decision-making. Uniform statewide testing indicates a move to centralized, state government control of educational planning. But there are other, socio-political shifts toward *community* control of education which may call for a reconsideration of statewide prescription of skills and their evaluation. The legislation also affects the

substantive issue of the educational goals to which attention might be directed. The most devastating consequence with respect to goals of using test scores as measures of educational outcomes is the psychometric trivialization of these outcomes. Despite the articulated concern for *quality* of outcomes, the use of testing as a tool for the evaluation of quality might be seen to represent an actual concern with narrowly conceived quantifiable outcomes.

WHAT ARE SCHOOLS FOR?
The Issue of Minimal Skills
by
Naomi Rosh White

FOOTNOTES

1. Robert M. Gagné, Conditions of Learning (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965).

2. Ibid., p.205.

3. Ibid.

4. Joseph McVicker Hunt, Intelligence and Experience (New York: Ronald Press, 1961).

5. If one adds to this the assertion that the character of school learning tasks at virtually all levels, as schooling is currently conducted, is discontinuous with the range of task demands outside of school, one would have a very strong case against the view that schools are concerned with functional literacy, or basic skills in the survival sense. In other words, it may be that the skills learned in schools are necesary but not sufficient for survival, and these basic, necessary skills are far too critical to be left to chance.

6. Herbert Ginsburg and Sylvia Opper, Piaget's Theory of Intellectual Development: An Introduction (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969).

7. Solveiga Miezitis, "The Montessori Method: Some Recent Research," Interchange 2 (1971): 41-59.

8. Martin T. Katzman and Ronald S. Rosen, "The Science and Policies of National Assessment," The Record-Teachers College, Vol. 71, No. 4, p. 576.

9. W. D. Rohwer, "Prime Time for Education: Early Childhood or Adolescence," Harvard Education Review 41 (August 1971): 314-316.

10. Carol Chomsky, "States in Language Development and Reading Exposure," Harvard Education Review 42 (August 1971): 1-33.

11. Rohwer, "Prime Time," pp.314-316.

12. Ibid.

13. Elsa Roberts, "An Evaluation of Standardized Tests as Tools for the Measurement of Language Development," Mimeo. Language Research Foundation and Northwestern University, May 1970. Available as ERIC document #ED 043 657.

14. The accountability legislation in Virginia lists among its Performance Objectives "The percentage of the student population achieving at or above grade level norms or the equivalent as measured by approved standardized achievement tests should equal or exceed the mean ability level of the student population as measured by appropriate scholastic aptitude tests" (Act H845).

15. Thomas Green, Education and Pluralism: Ideal and Reality, Twenty-sixth Annual Richard Street Lecture, School of Education (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1966).

16. Karl Mannheim, Freedom, Power and Democratic Planning (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), p.139.

17. Ibid., p.140.

18. Paulo Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness (New York: Herder and Herder, 1973).

19. John Dewey, Democracy and Education (New York: Free Press, 1966), pp.58, 87, 153.

20. I am indebted for this idea to a colleague at the Educational Policy Research Center, Peter B. White.

21. Severyn T. Bruyn, The Human Perspective in Sociology: The Methodology of Participant Observation (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966).

22. Manfred Stanley, "Technicism, Literacy and Cultural Imperialism," Working Draft (Syracuse, New York: Educational Policy Research Center, August 1972).

23. See Appendix C: "Legislation for Educational Management Methods."

24. Laurence H. Tribe, "Policy Science: Analysis of Ideology?" Philosophy and Public Affairs 2 (Fall 1972): 66-110.

25. IQ tests, for example, were primarily intended to guide individuals through school. The tests were used indiscriminately, precipitating a debate which led to IQ's gradual demise from the educational scene.

26. Henry S. Dyer, Recycling the Problems in Testing, from an address presented at the 1972 Invitational Conference of Testing Problems, Educational Testing Service, 1973.

APPENDICES

1 OF C22174-U

APPENDIX A

TABLE 1.1 THE ROLE OF FEDERAL FUNDING IN THE EXPANSION OF STATE ASSESSMENT PROGRAMS

STATE	INITIAL FUNDING	CONTINUATION FUNDING	PARTICIPATION
ALABAMA State Assessment (model for local districts)	Title I and III	SEA	University of Alabama
ARKANSAS Needs Assessment (to be expanded)	Title V, 502	Title III ($40,000)	Title III Advisory Council, EPIC Diversified Systems Corporation of Tucson, regional representatives of participating schools
COLORADO Evaluation Project	Title IV, 402 and SEA	SEA (1972)	Pilot planning included cross-sectional advisory group and legislators, citizens, and professional education
DELAWARE Educational Accountability System (synthesizes evaluation and assessment for Title I Migrant Program, Title III, and [illegible] programs)	Title IV, 402 ($96,000 for 3 years beginning July 1, 1970)		Advice from Educational Accountability Council; scoring reporting by Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc.; additional analyses by Lehigh University
FLORIDA Plan for Educational Assessment	Development costs: Florida Educational Research and Development Program	Operational Funds: State appropriations supplemented by Title IV, 402 annual grants	Program is reviewed by various groups
GEORGIA Assessment Project	State and federal funds	Expect major funding from state legislation	Some activities assigned to higher education institutions
IOWA Guidance Surveys	State and Title V money (1970)	State and Title III (1971)	
KANSAS Educational Information System Development	ESEA Title IV $92,000 first year		Select School Practices Efficiency Committee (authorized by state legislation) has received briefings
KENTUCKY Needs Assessment Study, Phase I and II	1969 Title III plan was precursor	SEA funds and Title IV, 402	Needs Assessment Group and EPIC Diversified Systems Corporation of Tucson, Arizona
LOUISANA Survey of Educational Needs	Title III $59,080 Title II $10,000		Northwestern State University and Title III Advisory Council

APPENDIX A (CONTINUED)

TABLE 1.1 THE ROLE OF FEDERAL FUNDING IN THE EXPANSION OF STATE ASSESSMENT PROGRAMS

STATE	INITIAL FUNDING	CONTINUATION FUNDING	PARTICIPATION
MAINE Plan for "Ongoing Assessment"	Proposed state funds; Title I, III, IV		University of Maine
MONTANA Evaluation for Educational Planning and Decision-Making	Title IV, 402		Advisory board of four departments of public instruction staff members
NEW HAMPSHIRE State Testing Program (global in goals and objectives)	(Proposed) Title IV, 402 primary, ESEA Title II, III, V - state and local funds		University of New Hampshire
NEW JERSEY Our Schools Program	Title III (1968 – 1980)	1970 – 1972 Title IV, 402 ($96,000); New Jersey Bankers Association ($20,000 in 1971)	Advisory Council on Educational Needs Assessment
NEW YORK Performance Indicators in Education (Pilot)	Title V, SEA staff (1970) $120,000	Expansion planned; funding source not indicated	(In plan development) ETS, ABT Associates, Rensselaer Research Corporation
Pupil Evaluation Program (state-wide school-by-school inventory)	Title I (1965) for administration	SEA and Title I ($40,000)	
NORTH CAROLINA Projected state-wide assessment (1971 – 1972)		Unused portions of Title I and III where appropriate; SEA funds (pending bill requests $750,000)	Proposed Education Development Council (citizens); Division of Community Colleges and Board of Higher Education; outside contractors for data processing
NORTH DAKOTA State-wide Testing Program		Title III (24%); participating schools (76%)	Planning Committee and ad hoc committees when need arises
Assessment of Educational Needs	Title III ($4,000) Title IV ($7,580)		University of North Dakota
OREGON Comprehensive program (initiated but not implemented)	Title IV, 402 Title V, 505	Not specified	Institute for Educational Engineering, coordinating with Assistant Superintendent for Planning and Evaluation and Data Processing; Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory (consultants)

3 OF C22174-U

TABLE 1.1 THE ROLE OF FEDERAL FUNDING IN THE EXPANSION OF STATE ASSESSMENT PROGRAMS

STATE	INITIAL FUNDING	CONTINUATION FUNDING	PARTICIPATION
PENNSYLVANIA Educational Quality Assessment	SEA (1967)	Some Title III funds for data analysis and scoring	Board Committee on Quality Education and State-wide Advisory Committee
SOUTH CAROLINA Five-Year Plan to Improve Education	1968 Title III Needs Assessment	Title IV, 402	Reaction panels (local school personnel and other educators); consultants
TENNESSEE Needs Assessment Years 1, 2, 3 (in planning stage)	State funds; Title III, I, IV, 402		Consultants from Memphis State University
TEXAS Pilot Programs: I. Pupil Appraisal: Cognitive Domain IC. Academic Performance II. Follow-Up Systems / Follow-Up Studies III. Pupil Appraisal: Affective Domain IV. School and Community Assessment Studies Federal (Title III), state, and local funds			Contractors; regional staffs
UTAH Needs Assessment Project	Title III and IV ($25,000)		6,000 citizens; 33 educational experts; 7 selected organizations in state
State-wide Evaluation System	Title IV, 402 (2/3) Title III (1/3) ($45,000)	Each major program participating in the system	Workshop for reactions of district and regional personnel and evaluation specialists
VERMONT Design for Education Phase 1 of 4 phases completed January 1, 1970	State and Title III		Task Force: Chief of Elementary Education and five state elementary consultants (no standardized tests; local participation of parents and citizens)
WEST VIRGINIA Learner-oriented Assessment (projected 1971 - 1972)	Table II (sic) (major source); some state funds		

Source: Compiled from State Educational Assessment Programs, Princeton, New Jersey: Educational Testing Service, 1971. This summary includes twenty-five states reporting assessment programs broader than requirements for Title I or Title III programs and not funded solely by Title I or Title III monies.

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APPENDIX B
TABLE 2.2
ACCOUNTABILITY IN EDUCATION: LEGISLATION STUDIED

State	Date	Statute
Alaska	1970	Chapter 35
Arizona	1969	Article 2.1, Reading Achievement Tests, 1969
	1972	Senate Bill 1294
California	1969	California School Testing Act
	1965	Miller-Unruh Basic Reading Act
	1971	Assembly Bill 293, Chapter 361
	1972	Assembly Bill 665 (Amends testing legislation)
	1967	Chapter 1573
	1971	Assembly Bill 2800
	1969	Assembly Bill 506, Chapter 784
	1970	Assembly Bill 1923, Chapter 1023
	1971	Assembly Bill 2995, Chapter 1220
	1971	Assembly Bill 1483, Chapter 1600
Colorado	1971	Educational Accountability Act
	1971	Senate Bill No. 42 (PPBES) + Article 42
Connecticut	1971	Public Act No. 665
	1971	Public Act No. 383
	1971	Public Act No. 52
	1971	Public Act No. 326
	1971	Public Act No. 382
	1971	Public Act No. 430
	1972	Substitute House Bill No. 5371
	1972	Public Act No. 204
Florida	1970	Chapter 70–399
	1971	Chapter 229.57 (Accountability Act)
	1969	Chapter 231.29
Hawaii	1970	Act 185
	1972	Senate Resolution No. 190
	1972	House Concurrent Resolution No. 43
Illinois	[1972]	[Senate Bill No. 1430--did not pass]
	[1972]	[Senate Bill No. 1432--did not pass]
	1972	Senate Bill No. 1548
Indiana	1971	Public Law No. 309
Maine	1967	Resolution of the Senate
Maryland	1972	Senate Bill No. 166
Massachusetts	1965	Willis-Harrington Act
Michigan	1970	Enrolled House Bill No. 3886
Nebraska	1969	Legislative Bill No. 959

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TABLE 2.2 continued

State	Date	Statute
New Jersey	1972 [1972] 1971	Governor's Message [Assembly Bill No. 822--did not pass] Senate Bill No. 2233
New Mexico	1967 1969 1971	Chapter 16, s. 59 Chapter 180 Senate Memorial No. 40
Ohio	1972	House Bill No. 475
Oregon	1971	Senate Bill No. 131
Pennsylvania	1963	School District Reorganization Act
Rhode Island	1969 1963	Chapter 49, s. 16 Chapter 16 – 22
South Dakota	1969–71	Chapter 62, Session Laws of 1969 (amended in 1970 and 1971)
Virginia	1971 1972	s. 2, Article VIII of Constitution H.845
Washington	1969	28A, 67.065
Wisconsin	1971	s. 443, Ch. 225

States where accountability legislation was introduced in 1972 but did not pass (6)

Alaska *	Minnesota*	* = Text of bill not
Idaho*	New Jersey	available for
Illinois (2 of 3 bills)	Oklahoma*	examination

States where accountability legislation may be introduced in 1973 (16)

Connecticut	Massachusetts	Oklahoma
Georgia	Minnesota	Oregon
Illinois	Nevada	Rhode Island
Indiana	New York	Texas
Kansas	North Carolina	Wyoming
Maryland		

Source: Statutes, bills, and related information reproduced by the Cooperative Accountability Project, May and October 1972, and April 1973.

Webster/EPRC
May 1973

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APPENDIX C
TABLE 2.3
STATUS OF ACCOUNTABILITY LEGISLATION, FALL 1972

State	Legislation Enacted	Legislation may be introduced in 1973	None enacted as of Fall, 1972
Alabama			x
Alaska	x		
Arizona	x		
Arkansas			x
California	x		
Colorado	x		
Connecticut	x	x	
Delaware			x
District of Columbia			x
Florida	x		
Georgia		x	x
Hawaii	x		
Idaho			x
Illinois	x	x	
Indiana	x	x	
Iowa			x
Kansas		x	x
Kentucky			x
Louisiana			x
Maine			x
Maryland	x	x	
Massachusetts	x	x	
Michigan	x		
Minnesota		x	x
Mississippi			x
Missouri			x
Montana			x
Nebraska	x		
Nevada		x	x
New Hampshire			x
New Jersey	x		
New Mexico	x		
New York		x	x
North Carolina		x	x
North Dakota			x
Ohio	x		
Oklahoma		x	x
Oregon	x	x	
Pennsylvania	x		
Rhode Island	x	x	
South Carolina			x
South Dakota	x		
Tennessee			x
Texas		x	x
Utah			x
Vermont			x
Virginia	x		
Washington	x		
West Virginia			x
Wisconsin	x		
Wyoming		x	x
TOTAL	23	16	28

Source: Cooperative Accountability Project Report, April 1973, page vi.

APPENDIX D

Summary of Statewide Testing Programs

prepared by Educational Testing Service in collaboration with Education Commission of the States and Education Resources Information Center (Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1971).

Many of the authorizations from legislatures are principally for the assessment of education by tests. That is, there is a mounting legislative pressure for documenting the products of the educational process by statewide testing programs. Some states have already set in motion widely ranging programs of tests (Pennsylvania and Michigan being notable examples), and others report themselves to be at the point of doing so (among them Colorado and Delaware). Some states are starting with rather narrow content coverage, but are planning for massive programs later on (Florida and Georgia, for example).

The content of most current state testing programs--whether mandated or unmandated by legislative bodies--is often less surprising than it is significant. The states engaged in some form of assessment-by-testing are mainly concerned with how well their educational systems are succeeding in imparting basic skills. Only relatively few go beyond the 3 Rs. Arizona, for example, received a mandate for the Arizona State Third Grade Reading Achievement Program, to begin this year. Although the specific objectives of the program are not yet available, strong effort will apparently be made to provide background data to lend depth and perspective in interpreting test scores.

As another example, recent legislation in Michigan calls for measures of the basic skills at grades 4 and 7. This program, which is now in its second year, covers verbal analogies, reading, English (mechanics of written English), and mathematics. In the first year, only average scores by school

and school district were reported, since the tests were consciously designed to be short to yield adequately reliable scores on individual students. This approach, however, was changed for the 1970-71 administrations. Tests are now of conventional length to provide the schools with information concerning the achievement of individuals. Although the major stress here has been on the academic areas, the Michigan program has also given some attention to assessing the influence of schooling on student aspirations.

California, which has a history of mandated testing programs going back to 1961, is another instance where testing of the basic skills has been strongly emphasized. In 1965, the Miller-Unruh Basic Reading Act created an obligatory testing program in reading for the primary grades. This concentration on the basic has been further reinforced by a recent legislative requirement for the adoption of minimum academic standards for certain grades and the selection of tests to be used statewide in evaluating the attainment of these standards.

Florida, for example, is presently concerned with measuring only achievement in reading, but is also planning a most ambitious program that will sample students in kindergarten through grade 12 in all the basic subjects.

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APPENDIX E
TABLE 3.1

LEGISLATION FOR EDUCATIONAL MANAGEMENT METHODS

State	Date enacted	PPBS	Management Information Systems	Uniform Accounting	Requires review of goals and / or objectives
Alaska	1970	X			X
Arizona	1972			X	
California	1967	X			
	1971	X			
Colorado	1971	X			
Hawaii	1970	X			X
Illinois	1972	X			
Indiana	1971	X			
Nebraska	1969				
New Mexico	1967		X	X	
Ohio	1972	X			
Rhode Island	1969		X	X	

Source: Derived from examination of legislation reported to the Cooperative Accountability Project, 1972 and April, 1973

From Federal to State Structures: The Burden of Accountability

The search for a new definition of the federal-state partnership in education marks a moment of change. Such time of transition provides a unique opportunity to review the past, to examine the present, and to explore alternative futures.

Since entering the domain of elementary and secondary education, the Office of Education has functioned with an unprecedented degree of "accountability." Congressional mandates clearly define spheres of activity and the intent of the legislation must be carefully observed. Both executive and legislative branches demand quantifiable evidence of success. Evaluations of the results of activity are public information, available not only to decision-makers in the form of reports, but to the general public through the national press. Current concern with accountability at the state level--with defining areas of state responsibility and with measuring outcomes--indicate a wide currency of this mode of operating. As the Office of Education has discovered, such pressures for accountability have an enormous impact on the administering agency.

At the present moment, accountability is a word with multiple definitions. In its working form, two broad patterns are clear. In one mode, accountability is a new articulation of an old demand for efficiency in schools. It reinforces the tradition of the industrial metaphor applied to education, using input-output models which ignore human and social costs and benefits. In a second form, it challenges the industrial metaphor by forcing an examination of the goals of education and a clarification of areas of responsibility. The movement is recent and its future is uncertain. It holds, however, a two-fold potential: to infuse new life into the factory model of schooling or to mount a challenge to that concept. It is not yet clear which form will shape the future of American education.

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